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Social Progress



China JOHN K. FAIRBANK

163d General Assembly Pronouncements

JUNE 1951

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Social Progress

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UNIONS—PROFITS AND PROPHETS

By A. J. HAYES, *President, International Association of Machinists, A. F. L.*

A conference on "Living in Industrial Civilization" was sponsored last May by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Corning Glass Works. Industrialists, labor leaders, sociologists, and educators met to consider human values in our American society. Mr. Hayes was a speaker at the conference. These excerpts from his address review one hundred years of labor history. They also drive home his conclusion that "man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, while his capacity for injustice makes democracy necessary."

ONE hundred years ago, the United States had been an independent nation under our present Constitution for only 62 years. Industrialization of the economy was well under way. But the early dream of the first settlers to find freedom in a land of their own had not been fulfilled for much of the succeeding population.

By 1851, the long debate over an industrial or predominately agricultural economy was nearing its end. The Civil War settled the question and when that tragic conflict ended, manufacturing and extraction industry was securely established in power. Since the Civil War, mechanized industry has gradually continued to expand and spread, fanlike, throughout the whole country.

Today, we as a nation are a suc-

cess industrially. As a result, we are the strongest, and the richest, nation. We are a mighty world power because of our industrial machine.

What has the growth of this industrial civilization done to human beings? Although we do not wish to ignore or minimize the credit side of the ledger, it was the neglect and abuse of the human equation in industry and the impotence of surrounding society to deal with such matters which caused the development of trade-unionism in the United States.

Child Labor

Midway in the nineteenth century, textile factories in New England, absentee-owned by some of the great families of Boston, were operating from sunup until sundown with child

Editor's Note: The questions raised in the three labor articles in this issue are under such serious discussion that SOCIAL PROGRESS will offer in an early number other approaches to these problems.

laborers, whose ages ran from five to eight to twelve. Child labor spread to other areas and to other industries, even to such hazardous ones as coal mining. Moreover, child labor was not a passing phase of early industry. The exploitation of employed children persisted in our industries until well into the present century. As the United States Children's Bureau will verify, we have not stamped out the evil of child labor all over the United States even today.

When the industrialist exercised a power unrestrained by law or by public conscience, or by trade-union agreements, he was influenced only by his own conscience and by the attitude of a board of directors who represented the interests of the "investors" who financed the industry. The employment of children was profitable and the motivation of industry was profits and not the welfare of humanity.

One hundred years ago the factory system had gone beyond the textile industry which initiated the system. A tariff act had been operating for thirty-five years to protect American manufactured goods. In 1851 the protected industries included such basic manufacturing materials as iron and glass as well as a long list of finished products. By 1851 industry was extracting metals and coal, and we had built a network of transportation canals and the railroad building era was under way.

The old methods of making things

by handicraftsmen were disappearing in the wake of the new order. The native work force was following its various trades into the factories, mines, and mills. Immigrant labor was being recruited in Europe, and coming by the hundreds of thousands to provide an abundant, and often an overabundant, supply of "hands" for American industry.

The Rise of Company Towns

These workers, of course, had to be housed, and since a homeowner among them was unusual, their employers, or an allied profit-making concern, had to provide the communities to accommodate the resulting concentration of population.

Starting with textiles, continuing in iron and steel, in coal and in some other industries, the company-owned town appeared. And immediately the employer could control his labor force in all aspects of life after the work shift ended. In the very best type of company-owned town, a system of paternalism prevailed which, no matter how well intentioned, was un-American. It handicapped the development of citizenship in a free society. In the other type of company town there prevailed a kind of serfdom, as vicious and as degrading to the human beings who were obliged to live in it as any oppressive system can be.

The company-owned and -dominated industrial town remained as a permanent characteristic of several

basic industries on into our contemporary society. When workers sought to form trade-unions the company town system was the industrialist's most formidable asset in opposing them. In addition to the necessary services, such as stores, schools, churches, medical care, the owners maintained a police force and a private army. When it was necessary they employed the publicly supported civil courts and the military of the state to augment the effectiveness of their own private governing apparatus.

In the early years of all industry it was a common practice for an employer to pay his workers in script or a "credit voucher" drawn on a particular merchant in a particular community. But the company-owned town had a private money of its own for the exchange of living commodities. In many areas of industry the employees never saw any United States currency from one year to the next. Usually they were so in debt to the company that leaving was prohibited and next to impossible.

At a time when space was plentiful the workers' communities were huddled together, almost touching the factory, the mine, or the mill. In steel and coal the industrial process itself killed all vegetable life; the natural water streams were polluted and the surrounding earth made sterile by soot and grime. Such was the home environment of the labor force. What about the human aspect

of this phase of industrial development? This type of home is not altogether a condition of the past. Far too many of them still exist in slum areas.

But in that very period, some parts of America lived in the grand manner. The barons of industry were importing from Europe and Asia not only some of the medieval castles, piece by piece for reconstruction in this country, but the priceless art treasures of the ages to refurbish them as well.

These grand homes and the social prestige of those who gathered in them, and the kind of life that went on in the industrial slum and the company town were both symbols. They represented the different rewards accruing to those whose way of life was determined by their relationship to industry.

Long Hours—Short Wages

And what of life inside the factories, in the quarries and mines, on the railroads and in the shops? The long, long working hours—10 to 12 or 15 to 18—lasted in some industries well into our own time. For example, the 12-hour day and night shifts, and the 7-day work week prevailed in the steel industry until the early '20's of the present century.

The wage paid, whether it was one, two, or four dollars a day in accordance with the changing standards of the century, would provide only poverty for a working-class family. In

fact, the inadequate wage of the breadwinner was the basic reason for the employment of children and whole family groups.

The economic system that grew along with industry had a habit of periodically slowing down or coming to a halt. There were recessions and depressions and booms all along the way, "good" or "bad" times, and panics.

For such occasions no provisions were made as a general rule for the unemployed of idle industry. There was some, but not much, charity assistance; there was some, but not much, credit extended. There was help by the poor helping the poor. But mostly there was panic, fear, and decay of human dignity for the unemployed working class. Does the human equation enter here?

Hazards to Health and Safety

Human factors are also involved in the effect of the industrial process on the health of its workers. Thousands of bodies have been injured and crippled in industry. Thousands of lives have been snuffed out in industrial accidents during the last hundred years. For a considerable portion of that period there was no established compensation either for the injured worker or for a family of a worker killed. There has been progress in the human aspect of this tragic phase of industrial activity. There are legal monetary compensation arrangements at least now oper-

ating in all our states. They are not adequate, but they represent progress.

Industrial accidents do not injure or kill as many workers today; but, during 1950 there were 1,952,000 workers injured on the job and 15,500 lost their lives as a result of industrial accidents—one every 35 minutes during every 24-hour day.

The Need for Organization

So much for the seamy side of our industrial growth. All the undesirable industrial practices I have discussed could not be eliminated by the workers themselves or organizations outside industry that worked for reform until there was organized action on the part of the labor force. The need for such organization can be measured by the changing climate of industrial-labor relations in the shop, on the job, in the pay envelope, in the home, and in the general overall status of an ordinary wage-earning working man or woman in contemporary American society.

The new industrial system and the capitalist economy growing out of it changed the face and the culture of the United States, and as it did so it exploited both the natural resources and the working population of the nation.

But the United States itself, the Constitution and the people, remained, and so did their dream. Freedom and dignity and a good life are

not confined to a homestead on the land. They are possible in an industrial civilization, and for all the people who contribute to industrial enterprise.

Under the American form of government the capitalistic, profit-making system and its industries can be made to take cognizance of the human equation in labor relations and with respect to the public welfare. But the struggle seems to be eternal. Despite the progress we have made, the same old forces of greed and evil lie in wait to reassert themselves. Exploitation is rampant still in wide areas in industry and agriculture. And I know how thin the economic foundation is on which our higher paid, better treated industrial workers stand.

Labor's Reforms Benefit All

But in America the wage working group is not a class of serfs. We believe we are equal. The labor movement has taught us that. Therefore, we struggle for equality of status, for economic security. And in the struggle we have improved the whole United States. Improved working conditions and social reforms have obviously benefited the whole of society as much as the labor force.

There is another by-product of trade-unionism that is important to the social welfare of this country, especially in a period of world tension. I refer to a democratic system of

society, now so seriously challenged around the globe by a form of government that is its direct opposite.

The international Communist movement has had little effect on the membership of organized labor in the United States, partly because the labor force of our country is literate and intelligent.

Under our Constitution, through democratic procedure which organized labor greatly assisted to create and extend, the United States has changed for the better. And for the workers the change has meant a stake in their own future through their equal participation in the creation of that future. That working-class outlook on the future is one of Uncle Sam's most valuable assets in the present crisis.

If the antilabor forces, active all through our history, had succeeded in completely destroying organized labor, and if the conditions in industry that I have been reviewing had not been considerably improved, how would the American working class be reacting to what the Russians call the "people's revolution"?

Social Justice, Not Arms

I do not believe that the appeal of the Communists' propaganda to the working classes of the world, in Asia or any other place, including the United States, can be permanently defeated by military means. We need more than arms. We need justice! And that means at the present mo-

ment an extension of social security, more social welfare, and more social progress.

The industrial processes in the United States are literally marvelous. But the lag between the breath-taking advance of physical science in industry and the snail-like pace of our

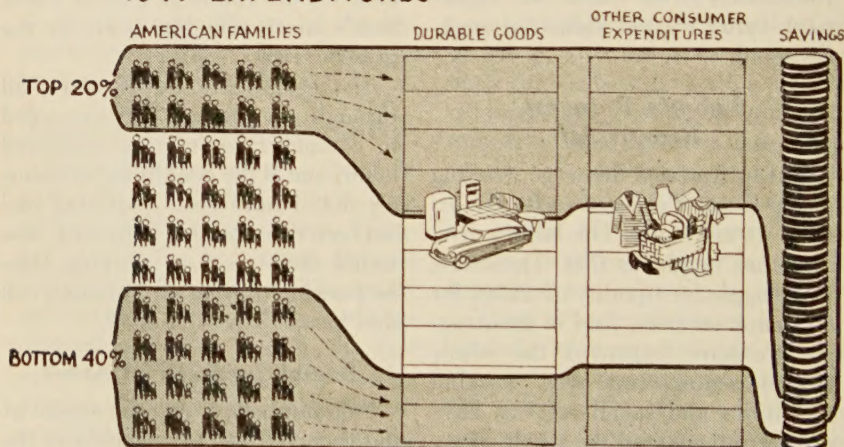
social science in the same area indicts us, I think, as a civilized society.

We have a potential capacity to make life meaningful, good, and beautiful, for all who want that kind of life. To realize how far short we are from that goal, all one has to do is to open his eyes and see!

Refer again to the Labor Sunday Message of the National Council of Churches printed in the June issue of *Social Progress*. Plan to send copies of this message to businessmen and labor leaders in your town and also to have it read in your church. Write for copies today to the Department of Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. 5 cents each; \$1.85 per hundred.

WHO'S REALLY CAUSING INFLATION?

1949 EXPENDITURES



Guernsey-Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

This chart shows that the 20% of American families with the highest incomes in 1949 were responsible for 41% of all expenditures for durable goods like electrical appliances, furniture, and automobiles, 38% of other consumer expenditures, and almost all of the savings. In that same year the 40% of our families receiving the lowest incomes accounted for only 18% of all durable goods expenditures and only 20% of other consumer spending. (Source: Federal Reserve Board's Survey of Consumer Finances.)

IN THIS YEAR OF INFLATION

By HENRY C. FLEISHER, *Director of Publicity, C.I.O.*

THE story is told of the elderly worker and his wife who were reminiscing about their family experiences through the years.

"Remember back in 1932," said the wife, "when we were broke and living on hamburger?"

"Yes, I do," sighed the husband. "But don't forget 1951, when we were eating hamburger and going broke."

The story in many ways is illustrative of the predicament of American workers—and their trade unions—in this year of inflation. There is little unemployment. Wages are high. Work, in most industries, is steady. Yet, despite these happy indications, real wages—the effective buying power of income—have failed to advance for the average American worker's family. If inflation continues, his real wages may, indeed, go down.

This threat to living standards has been a cause of deep concern to union members and union officials alike. It underlies the angry tones that have increasingly characterized the statements of leaders of labor. It has produced considerable bitterness, disappointment, and frustration. A year after the beginning of the national emergency created by the Communist aggression in Korea,

American labor is pleading for the enactment of economic and legislative remedies to counteract our national inflationary fever.

President Philip Murray of the C.I.O., within a few days of the North Korean attack in June, 1950, issued the first of a long series of appeals for recognition of the principle of "equality of sacrifice" in the conduct of our domestic affairs. In June, 1951, Mr. Murray and other leaders of labor, both C.I.O. and A.F.L., were making the same plea—and action to achieve it appeared to be as far away as ever.

AMERICAN labor is firmly convinced that only through acceptance of the principle of "equality of sacrifice" can our nation develop a workable mobilization program during these troubled years of international tension. Obviously, the defense program imposes new burdens and new responsibilities upon every American. An equal sharing of those burdens will produce a general state of high morale and a greater willingness to co-operate in the program. On the other hand, if the millions of people in the low-income brackets become convinced that they alone are carrying a disproportionate share of the burden, the defense program is in

great danger of losing their enthusiastic support.

During the year since the Korean aggression, "equality of sacrifice" has scarcely moved beyond the slogan stage. Corporation profits have soared over their previous records; more income is flowing into the hands of the high-income families; no very essential reforms have been made in the tax program; and prices and rents are moving steadily upward. It is a regrettable fact that a number of business organizations—notably the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce—have opposed a program of price controls and effective wage stabilization. Spokesmen for these groups have protested that price controls merely deal with the "symptoms" of the inflationary disease, and they maintain that the situation calls for other types of action against the causes of inflation. But alert members of Congress have noticed that the representatives of these same organizations, in their various appearances before legislative committees, have quite consistently opposed, with equal bitterness, a wide variety of other suggested anti-inflation measures.

INFLATION, of course, is not "just a labor problem." It is a problem that affects almost every American. The person on low fixed income—and there are millions of them in the country—is perhaps even more

hard hit by the rising cost of living than workers, who at least can use the collective bargaining method to give them some degree of protection for their wage income.

Yet it was organized labor, perhaps more than any other group, which was most vociferous and most active in seeking to strengthen the Defense Production Act as a means of stabilizing the nation's economy. The Committee for Constitutional Government, an ultraconservative organization, has erroneously claimed that the C.I.O. originated and carried on almost alone the campaign for effective price controls—a device which the Committee describes, erroneously again, as a "sinister scheme to regiment industry."

This kind of attack on labor during the last few months is strongly reminiscent of the postwar propaganda campaign that culminated in mid-1947 with the passage of the Taft-Hartley law. Most of the same organizations, the same groups of legislators, and the same techniques that were used then are being used now.

Their campaign has been waged on three or four specific points. The first has already been mentioned—the attack on price controls and the assumption that only labor favors such controls—for "sinister purposes" only, as the Committee for Constitutional Government would have us believe.

The second effort has been to place

wages under a stringent control program while other phases of the economy were left free or were placed under the most nominal type of regulation by the Government.

The third, and perhaps the most bizarre of all, has been the vigorous effort to prevent the Wage Stabilization Board from attempting to bring about peaceful, mutually satisfied agreements in labor-management disputes affecting the national defense program. Representative Wingate Lucas of Texas, and a majority of the House Labor Committee, would flatly prohibit the Wage Stabilization Board from engaging in any such effort to produce industrial peace. The thinking represented by the Lucas Bill reflects an effort to move away from the activities of specially created war labor boards in both World War I and World War II, each of which performed a recognized service in its handling of such disputes, and uniting capital and labor in periods of national crisis.

This effort to ignore the successful experiments of the past in producing labor-management harmony in time of national emergency was described quite correctly by C.I.O. President Murray as "devoid of realistic understanding of labor-management problems and of the need for establishing effective methods of voluntary co-operation in American industry during this national emergency."

THE outlook for labor, from the viewpoint of its responsible, elected leaders, is one of conflict, so long as the Congressional coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans continues to pass bills grounded on the false assumption that the full co-operation of workers and their unions in the defense program is an undesirable goal.

Organized labor has responded to this threat to its fundamental program by taking dramatic new steps to achieve unity among the various trade-union organizations. In December, 1950, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and a number of railway brotherhoods, created the United Labor Policy Committee "for the purpose of taking action upon questions relating to the mobilization and stabilization program."

The most dramatic of these actions was the well-publicized "walk out" of labor representatives from the few posts they held in a number of the Government defense agencies. The decision to take this action developed from a reluctant conclusion that only dramatic protest could win for labor and the public some minimum form of equitable participation in the defense agencies, at both the policy and operating levels. It is unfortunate that only last-ditch action—rather than less dramatic consultation—could win the obvious concession that labor should indeed have

a greater voice in the defense program.

The problem of winning passage of legislation which labor believes desirable in the national interest is not so easy. With the 1952 elections in mind, the political branches of both the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. are already embarking on plans to produce a high voting registration among labor union members, and to launch an educational program concerning the all-important issues that are certain to be involved in the next elections.

THE election of an 83d Congress with the same political complexion as the 82d may prove dangerous to labor and to the nation. America requires a healthy, vigorous trade-union movement which can win serious consideration for its program in the market place of ideas. Repetition of the type of political stalemate represented by the 82d Congress may easily pave the way, not for a program of social and economic affairs, but for apathy and despair among our citizens.

As a nation, we are still behind schedule in enacting civil rights legislation and in improving our social welfare program. New legislation is necessary if we are to meet the needs of American workers and others in the lower-income brackets. New legislation is equally needed if America is to be able to continue to maintain its position as the

leader of the democratic free world.

The United States cannot easily afford a situation in which labor lives in the continuing fear of new repressive legislation; where minority groups are unable to win adequate protection of their rights by legislative action; where health, education, and social security needs are not adequately cared for; or where a lopsided economic program is permitted to function without restraint.

AMERICANS may well believe that our democratic system is demonstrably successful and without equal in the world, but it is also clear that millions of people in Europe and Asia do not necessarily agree with our interpretation. American trade-unionists, who have learned much from their successful effort to rid their own organizations of Communist efforts and infiltration, have a sensitive understanding of the need for social advance as the best long-range antidote to Communist propaganda.

At the present time, there is justifiable fear that our legislative inertia and our spiraling inflation are playing into the hands of the ideological enemy. Labor feels that America must quickly adopt a constructive, imaginative program that will strengthen our democracy and win us friends throughout the world. Our unions can help the nation best if their own security and rights are recognized more clearly at home.

HOLMES WAS WRONG

By HENRY R. LUCE.

Unlike his opinions, his philosophy needs reversing.

On April 19, Southern Methodist University opened its new Legal Center in Dallas, a place where law students and practicing lawyers will gather to exchange ideas and experience as they do at London's famous Inns of Court. "Here we can begin to study what is wrong and what is right with our laws," said Dean Robert Storey; and if Dallas is indeed to become the seedbed for a new American jurisprudence, businessmen as well as lawyers should be interested, for the U.S. is largely governed by lawyers and therefore enormously influenced by what lawyers believe about the law.

At SMU's opening, *Fortune's* editor in chief, Henry R. Luce, was one of the speakers before an audience of top U.S. jurists, including two members of the Supreme Court. He talked about the late great Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes—"one lawyer who is known even to movie fans"—and more specifically about the troubled doubts that laymen have felt about the growing Holmes myth. Below is a digest of his speech.

THE task of identifying the Holmes trouble has already been done by Harold McKinnon in the April, 1950, issue of the American Bar Association *Journal*:

"Two things about Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes need reconciliation. He had a very bad philosophy. Yet he ranks among the greatest men of our time. His philosophy was agnostic, materialistic, hopeless of the attainment of any ultimate truth, meaning, or standard of value."

And my question to you is this: Does it really matter that Holmes had a very bad philosophy?

The characteristic American answer would be, I suppose: "No, if Holmes was a good man and did good, his philosophy doesn't matter

—and anyway it couldn't have been too bad." That would be the characteristic American answer—and the American, having made that answer, would feel unhappy about it, uneasy, worried, wondering.

And this uneasy answer, I submit, indicates, as unmistakably as the finger of a clock, the point at which America has arrived: we have arrived at the point historically where we can no longer proceed with any health or happiness on the blithe assumption that it doesn't matter what any of us believe—or whether there is really anything to believe.

I submit to you today that we ought to believe what is true, and that the truth is that we live in a moral universe, that the laws of this

country and of any country are invalid and will be in fact inoperative except as they conform to a moral order which is universal in time and space. Holmes held that what I have just said is untrue, irrelevant, and even dangerous.

I submit to you that you as lawyers have one urgent task more important than all others—to reverse Mr. Justice Holmes—and to do so for the sake of the law itself, for the sake of the American people, and perhaps for the sake of your own individual peace of mind.

There is one thing—among others—to be said for Mr. Holmes. He knew what he believed. He believed, most importantly, that there is no ultimate truth anywhere to be believed in. Some of his more melodramatic dicta which I shall quote are therefore not out of the context of his general thought.

Holmes said, "I see no reason for attributing to man a significance different in kind from that which belongs to a baboon or a grain of sand."

Holmes said that men have no natural rights, and if a man will fight for what he calls his rights, so will a dog fight for a bone.

Holmes said, "Truth is the majority vote of that nation that can lick all the others."

Holmes said, "I believe that force . . . is the ultima ratio."

The "clear and present" labels of this philosophy are materialism,

militarism, relativism, agnosticism, and, in the most charming and civilized sense of the word, cynicism.

Such was the fully disclosed belief of this American hero. And I should like to make full acknowledgment of the sympathetic view that can be taken of Holmes's philosophy. Certainly, it has corollaries, especially as he drew them, that were attractive in the ancient Stoics and always will be. Courage, style, the love of learning and of excellence—we shall never have enough of these Holmesian qualities; we have great lack of them today. Moreover, he used these qualities, along with his enormous vitality, to undertake a work in the world that needed doing in his time. Holmes, I take it, was the elder prophet (Roscoe Pound being the younger) of that school of American legal realism which brought our nineteenth century jurisprudence back into touch with the facts of life. He and his friends forced your profession to admit that other disciplines, such as Mr. Brandeis' sociology, had something to contribute to the perennial quest for justice; that the distribution of property, especially in a democracy, has some bearing on the right to it; and that even judges may be subject to bias and indigestion. Since these propositions were an open secret among all who sued in our courts or voted in our elections, it was well that they be brought to the attention of our "aristocrats of the robe." The Holmesians

undertook this corrective work. They fought a long battle, which ended in 1937, but from which the law has not recuperated yet. For in correcting one evil they created a worse—the undermining of the law itself.

Holmes's philosophy foreshadowed this disaster. Yet the only charge to be leveled at that philosophy is that it denies the immutability and unity of truth. Does it matter? Do we care?

It seems to me that it does and we do. I give you this observation as a journalist trying to discern the signs of the times—it seems to me that we as a nation have come to the point where the most immediately urgent questions are precisely those questions which are both perennial and profound.

Why is it so urgent to settle now philosophic questions which will never finally be settled until kingdom come? Let me illustrate the pragmatic necessity by reminding you how Americans look to people in Europe, in Asia, to people everywhere overseas. We do not look. The picture they paint of us, you resent—and so do I. They say we are materialists—the spawn of a materialism preferable to that of Communism, but materialists nevertheless. They say that we are only interested in gadgets—in motorcars, bathtubs, ice-boxes, and TV. We rebut that description, and in part the rebuttal is accepted. But Americans still do not present an attractive picture to

the world. Why? Because the people of the world do not feel that we stand for anything deeply and fundamentally relevant to the mighty drama of human destiny—with its eternal dialectic of tragedy and redemption.

And do we stand for something? How about the law? Do we stand for the law? What law? Coming from where and going where? And with what relation to universal truth beyond the pragmatic boundaries of Texas politics?

Now if you could give answers to these questions (with all humility in the face of an infinite universe, and yet clear answers), then the world would hear.

But who can give this answer? Could the Supreme Court? I tell you that the Supreme Court of the United States could win the world-wide battle for the minds of men by one humble affirmation of the truth that we do live in a moral universe, wherefore the laws of man have their source and their goal in the law of God. This is the basis on which we as a nation seek to make, to correct, and to execute our own laws and this is the basis on which we seek to live in peace and justice with all other men. The Supreme Court could win this battle but not without reversing Mr. Justice Holmes. Oh, they might not have to reverse a single one of his legal opinions. They would have to reverse simply his philosophy—his clear and beautiful and brave and

gravely mistaken notion of truth.

But you are still not convinced. If a nation lacks faith, it cannot overnight achieve faith as an expedient means of avoiding disaster.

So I say to you this nation still has the faith. The faith is there beneath all the dreadful clutter and confusion of our noise. The faith is there; it needs only to be evoked.

As a test case, let me present to you a statement of the American Proposition (taken from the February, 1951, *Fortune*):

"The essence of the American Proposition can be understood only against the long religious history of mankind. . . . Freedom is real because man was created by God in the 'image' of God. Man carries within him something that the merely animal does not have, the divine spark, the 'image.' . . . The human individual thus has a special status with regard to all other things and beings on earth: he must live, and must be entitled to live, by the laws of God, not just by the laws and directives of men.

"According to the American Proposition, this special status is couched in certain Rights. . . . [They] are 'unalienable,' grounded in the universe itself, reflecting universal laws of nature: that is to say, they are natural, not merely political, Rights."

Between the general philosophy stated there and the general philosophy of Holmes there is no middle

ground. Between the political philosophy stated there and the political philosophy of Holmes, a choice must be made.

This nation was founded unarguably upon a social contract expressed in those two paragraphs. That social contract has been breached and violated—its moral basis undermined by humanistic explanations. That social contract must be restored and made whole. Either that or you will have a totally different social contract, to which, gentlemen, many of you will not in conscience give your allegiance. I am suggesting today that it is above all the challenge to the legal profession to find means to spread across the American sky the news that the law by which we seek to live, however imperfect a copy it may be, is nevertheless grounded in the law of the universe.

Unless the true social contract is most explicitly re-established, confusion, which is already the word by which this mighty nation most commonly describes itself, will spread and spread and spread. Heroic measures are required: heroic measures of mind and spirit.

Is it beyond your skill and ingenuity to bring into all the great courts in our land the clear issue as to what we do deeply believe about the law?

Somehow in our time this case will be tried. It may be your supreme service to bring the issue to trial before it is too late.

ILLUSION OF DEFENSE

How UMT worked with European countries that tried it over many years

WHEN war began in Europe on September 1, 1939, there seemed little doubt of the outcome. Germany had rearmed and had re-instituted conscription less than five years before. France and Poland, on the other hand, had seasoned armies, a long history of peacetime conscription, and plans for immediate mobilization. A survey of European and American opinion shows just how much faith was placed in the program of peacetime universal military training.

French military leaders were confident that the Maginot line and universal military training made invasion of France impossible. Their argument was based on the assumption that millions of trained men, ready for immediate mobilization, either would serve as a deterrent to invasion or actually prevent it.

Likewise the Polish premier, Gen. Felicjan Slawoj Skladkowski on September 2, 1939, speaking of the conscript Polish Army, told a joint session of parliament that "the unconquerable Polish Army will defeat its historic enemy."

Poland had had peacetime conscription and every one of its millions of men had had at least a year of compulsory military training.

American military leaders and

writers who had long favored compulsory military training in the United States were equally emphatic in believing that Germany could not defeat France and Poland. Major George Fielding Eliot and Major R. Ernest Dupuy, Field Artillery, U.S. Army, wrote in 1937 in their book *If War Comes* of the "tactical and technical factors favoring France so far as material and training is concerned." Of Germany they wrote: "Despite the strenuous and efficient military schools now in full swing, the hiatus in military training imposed by the Versailles Treaty is too severe a handicap to be overcome in a short time."

"Plenty of Hope"

The *Baltimore Sun* of September 10, 1939, reported an interview with officers of the General Staff, Third Corps Area of the U. S. Army. The officers felt that the Polish retreat left "plenty of hope" that the well-trained Polish Army would "stem the drive of German mechanized forces."

A *New York Times* correspondent writing from Paris on September 3 stated that "the Germans have lost any initial advantage conditioned on surprise. Their opponents are fully

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TRAINING YOUTH IN AMERICA

THE American people are going to have to send their sons out to fight—and I mean fight. . . . Get rid of the ice cream and candy. Give 'em beer and whisky—that'll help some." Brigadier General Lewis B. Puller, just returned from Korea (May 24), where he was assistant commander of the First Marine Division, delivered himself of such blunt opinions en route to Pendleton, California, to train the Third Marine Division. Apparently, in General Puller's opinion, the free institutions of our democratic society are doing a very poor job of preparing American youth for life—under his command. Not many Army men, perhaps not even General Puller, would seriously advocate the "beer and whisky" program, but the proposal does dramatically symbolize the drastic changes in the training of American youth that will follow if conscription is made permanent in the United States. The militarized nations of Europe reveal just how far-reaching these changes will be.

The fight for the American conception of training for freedom cherished for 175 years is not yet lost. The UMST bill adopted by both Houses early in June authorized a five-member National Security Commission made up of three civilians including the chairman and two members from the armed forces. This Commission's recommendations for a training program are to be presented to both committees on Armed Services, which are to prepare and submit the legislative recommendations to both Houses for action within 45 legislative days. This means that some time after October, 1951, the UMT issue will return to Congress. It will be defeated if either House votes down the recommendations of the UMT Commission. The next several months are important for the mobilization of public opinion and correspondence with members of Congress.

THE SHOT NEVER FIRED IS HEARD ROUND THE WORLD

IN HIS *Men Against Fire*, Col. S. L. A. Marshall reports the result of a survey of 400 infantry companies in the Central Pacific and European theaters immediately after combat. The study revealed that only one man in four fired his weapon. The men were not terrified, stood up under the hottest enemy fire, but for some reason did not fire themselves! Elton C.

to Faith

Far writes from Korea of the same problem in a recent A. P. dispatch. He quotes an Army report that "a significant number of infantry men . . . engaged in actual combat fail to employ their weapons when observed and vulnerable targets are within range." Explanations offered by the Army include "lack of motivation or the will to fight and kill a specific enemy soldier."

The Church has a responsibility for the Army's problem with youth who lack motivation—the will to kill. What can we do now for those we have taught through childhood and youth to minister and give their lives—"greater love hath no man than this"—and that all men are brothers? What word have we for our sons who in anguish of soul walk into the fire of war and out again without firing a shot? To the Army "the reason for the behavior phenomena remains unknown when observed and vulnerable targets are within range." Perhaps our sons could not see an "enemy."

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLS FOR PEACE ACTION

CHRISTIANS will not refuse their responsibility for hard thinking and courageous action on the problems of foreign affairs. Surely we can find a bold, compassionate course that will carry to the oppressed millions of Asia the promise of redemption from their misery, saving both them and ourselves from the red fire of Communism. A Christian democracy has a better answer to Communism than militarism, better even than American militarism, and it is the place of Christians to find it. We must establish an informed Christian opinion that will be the very life and breath of an affirmative national policy and the strength of our leaders devoted to the ideals of Christian brotherhood. General Assembly has designated October 21 to December 25 for study and action. On September 23 complimentary copies of the study and action book for Christians in world affairs will be mailed to all SEA leaders and to all Presbyterian ministers who have accepted the Division's invitation to request a copy. The new title of this study book is *Let Us Live! for God and the Nations*. Order in quantities at 40 cents per copy for 5 or more.

It is important that every member of the men's group, women's group, youth group, Sunday evening or midweek group have his or her own copy. —Paul Newton Poling.

Illusion of Defense

(Continued from page 15)

prepared." Earlier the *Times* (Sept. 2, 1939) had quoted the Associated Press that "the French land army could be raised to 8,000,000 well trained, well equipped men" whose "places in the giant military machine have been determined long since." When the French mobilized they did so "calmly and efficiently" according to a report in the *New York Herald Tribune* of September 3. The report added, "The machinery which had been prepared through the years from November 11, 1918, worked smoothly." The *New York Herald Tribune* of September 4, 1939, under a Paris, September 3, date line reported: "Premier Edouard Daladier led France into war tonight with his people confident of victory. For twenty years they have prepared for this struggle, done their service in the Army, Navy, or air force, spent billions of francs for guns and munitions. This time they believed they were ready."

Major George Fielding Eliot in his September 3, 1939, column in the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote that "left alone, Germany could probably defeat Poland in the end, though probably not as quickly as some boasts have suggested. But there is no doubt whatever that it is impossible for Germany to defeat Poland, plus Britain. I cannot emphasize this too strongly. If Germany is confronted with Poland, France, and

Britain in arms, Germany is most assuredly going to be defeated."

Despite this confidence in sheer numbers, Germany did defeat Poland and France, and the British armies that had crossed the channel. An American newspaper correspondent writing in the *Baltimore Sun* of September 14, 1939, summed up the situation in a description of the destruction of Poland. He said, "It has brought its lessons, this lightning war which so many believed impossible in a Europe so armed and ready." It is significant that those European leaders who followed the misleading advice, "Prepare for war if you want peace," had the almost unanimous approval of military writers and Army leaders in America. Even today, although the lessons of history are clear, the American press, including its military analysts and the Army leadership, continues to accept the same philosophy and advocate essentially the same universal service program.

If we look at the record of the last war, we discover that a small, largely volunteer German army drove into Poland so rapidly that eight days after the invasion Germany had occupied one fifth of the entire area of the country (*The Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1939). In the First World War it had taken nine months to occupy the same territory. The German drives into Poland were led by German tanks "in squadrons of 120, 240, and sometimes even 450

smashing along in formation" (*The New York Times*, Sept. 6, 1939).

In comment on the invasion of Poland, an A. P. correspondent on September 13 wrote from Poland of the Polish mass armies, asking, "Why has the Polish Army, so large in numbers, been thrown back?"

Conscription No Answer

Despite the faith of many Americans in the European system of military conscription, it was no answer to lightning war. *The New York Times* of September 24, 1939, carried a news dispatch which stated: "Last Wednesday, 20 days after the German juggernaut began to roll over Poland, Colonel General Walther von Brauchitsch, commander in chief of the Germany Army, issued this order of the day: 'Soldiers! the great battle in the Vistula sector is finished. The Polish Army is annihilated. The operations against Poland are thus concluded.'" William L. Shirer in his *Berlin Diary* wrote that "at the end of eighteen days of fighting, not a single Polish division, not even a brigade, was left intact." Yet these men had been trained under the same military training and service system now being proposed by our Army.

Nor was Poland without allies when it went down to defeat. A September 3, 1939, Paris dispatch in the *Baltimore Sun* of September 4, stated, "France joined Great Britain in war against Germany today and

8,000,000 Frenchmen moved toward the front."

When the German Army turned its attention to the conscript armies of Western Europe it knocked out Denmark in one day and shortly thereafter Norway had been occupied. The invasion began on April 9 and on April 24, 1940, "Germany took over direct control of Norway" (House Document No. 541, 78th Congress, Second Session). On May 9, Germany invaded Belgium, Luxembourg, and The Netherlands. On the 15th the Netherlands Army capitulated. On the 28th the Belgian Army surrendered, and two days later, Britain began evacuating Dunkirk. Shirer's *Berlin Diary* commented on May 14: "We're all a little dazed tonight by the news. The Dutch Army has capitulated—after only five days of fighting. What happened . . . to its army of over half a million men?"

By June 14, 1940, the French Army, based on a system of universal military training and service in peacetime, which from 1935 demanded two years' military training and service, was in dire straits. On that day, France appealed to the United States for help, stating: "Our divisions are decimated. Generals are commanding battalions" (*ibid.*).

Three days later, on June 17, France asked armistice terms of Germany, Marshal Pétain suing for "peace with honor" (*ibid.*).

Universal military training and

service did not prevent war and it did not prevent defeat. Yet the heroes of the victorious French in World War I, Foch, Pétain, Gamelin, Maginot, had insisted upon peacetime conscription as a prerequisite to future peace for France.

Dr. A. Allan Bates, an American scientist who spent years in France, has described to a Congressional committee the opposition to UMT on the part of some scientists and engineers in France. He added: "However, with the aid of a continuous newspaper campaign and of the dead weight of overwhelming tradition, the prestige of the General Staff triumphed. France put her billions of francs and her millions of boy years into universal service."

Psychology of Defeat

Captain Liddell Hart suggests another result of conscription in his assertion that the psychology developed under peacetime conscription and the control by the military may be a contributing factor in defeat. He points out that the effect of conscription during the First World War "can be traced in the symptoms which preceded the collapse of the Russian, Austrian, and German armies. It was the least free states which collapsed under the strain of war—and they collapsed in the order of their degree of unfreedom. By contrast, the best fighting force in the fourth year of the war was, by general recognition, the Australian

Corps—the force which had rejected conscription, and in which there was the least insistence on unthinking obedience."

If we turn to the Far East, we discover that the Japanese conscript armies, like those of Europe, were of little use. When Japan agreed to unconditional surrender, its home army of almost 4,000,000 men had never fired a shot nor even seen an American soldier.

Only the untested Swiss and Swedish systems of peacetime conscription have been referred to as "successful" by American Army spokesmen. A few military men have admitted that economic, strategic, and topographical reasons were responsible for Swiss and Swedish neutrality, but many of our "military experts" are so wedded to the concept of conscription that they attribute Swiss neutrality to Germany's fear of Swiss riflemen.

The failure of peacetime conscription in Europe and Asia was the failure of a system, and not just an accident. A well-developed military bureaucracy, the regimentation of the boyhood of a nation during the formative period of their lives, the belief that important problems can be solved by military methods or be avoided by the threat of adequate military force, are results of the conscription system. On the basis of the evidence we have, there is no reason to believe that conscription will serve America better than it served Europe.

LABOR'S LOSSES IN THE SOUTH

By JOHN G. RAMSAY, *Director of Community Relations, C.I.O.*

THIRTY years before there was any National Labor Relations Act, the Churches in their social pronouncements upheld the right of employees to form unions and to bargain collectively with their employers. The Church gave status to labor.

Then the Wagner Act brought the working people of America legal rights. They could no longer be fired and blackballed for joining unions. They could form unions knowing that they had rights as individual citizens in a great democracy.

The Taft-Hartley Act has not preserved the basic freedoms that were granted to the working people under the Wagner Act. An investigation of the workings of labor-management relations under the Taft-Hartley Act has been made by a Senate Committee.

The report of the Senate Committee shows that in the United States the textile industry is a substantial segment of our economy, employing over one million workers. Eighty per cent of these employees are in the South and the other 20 per cent are in New England. In the North 100 per cent of the mills are organized, but in the South only 15 per cent are organized.

In the testimony both labor and

management have agreed that employees who work in organized mills secure substantially higher wages, greater security, and better working conditions, also that the unions are able to negotiate better contracts in the North than in the South. By the testimony of Northern management, employees in Northern mills receive 11.6 cents per hour better wages and 9.1 cents per hour better fringe benefits. This amounts to a wage differential averaging 20.7 cents per hour.

Moreover, union testimony shows that even in the Southern organized mills the average hourly earning rate is still 10 cents per hour less than in the union mills of the North. There is a further loss of 15½ cents per hour in the unorganized Southern mills as against the organized Southern mills.

The South offers the manufacturer lower cost in construction, power, taxes, and raw materials. With these advantages the Southern employer in the textile industry should be able to pay better wages than those paid by the employer in the same industry in the North. The chambers of commerce in Southern towns, however, in their promotional literature offer the prospects of cheap labor and absence of unions as chief induce-

ments to bring manufacturers south.

The businessmen in the South shortsightedly look for increased sales from the payrolls of the new industry coming into their communities. But they fail to realize that purchasing power can be maintained only through the establishment of a just wage for their employees, who are also their customers.

From personal experience as an organizer of labor in these communities I know that the unions are being retarded in their organizing efforts because it is difficult to deal with management's unfair labor practices since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. In appearing before the Senate Subcommittee, Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union of America, C.I.O., testified that in the South membership in the union had declined from 20 per cent of the textile employees to 15 per cent in only a few years. Mr. Rieve charged that "there exists in the textile industry, primarily in the South, a widespread conspiracy to prevent union organization and to destroy those unions which now exist," and according to the Subcommittee's report, "The evidence before the Subcommittee goes far to substantiate Mr. Rieve's charge."

Five exhaustive case studies have been conducted by the Subcommittee. These constitute a sampling of some of the typical methods of union busting in the South. Open hearings were held in each of the five cases.

Every effort was made to afford labor and management representatives an equal opportunity to present their views. No Southern management testimony, however, was made available to the Senate Subcommittee except in the case of a few representatives of management who were subpoenaed for specific hearings.

The cases studied in the investigation were American Enka Corporation in Morristown, Tennessee; Anchor Rome Mills in Rome, Georgia; the American Thread Company in Tallapoosa, Georgia; the Celanese Corporation in Rome, Georgia; and the Anderson Citizens Committee in Anderson, South Carolina.

There are a number of ways to prevent union organization. Some are serious infringements on individual rights. Here are the techniques I personally have observed. These are also recorded by the Senate Committee: surveillance, propaganda, denial of free speech and assembly, violence and gun play, intimidation and discharging of workers, injunctions, organization of community forces against union, and endless litigation and stalling. Space permits me to analyze only a few of these methods.

Surveillance

In Thomasville, Georgia, one of our organizers reported to me that he was followed by the company supervisors everywhere he went. He

hesitated to stop at the homes of the workers because right after he left the supervisor or someone from the company would call on the employee and tell him that he must not allow the union organizer to come into his home.

Propaganda

First there are rumors; all kinds of wild rumors are circulated throughout the plant during working hours. In the organizing campaign of the Lane Cedar Chest Company in Altavista, Virginia, we were scheduled to have an election conducted by the NLRB just before Christmas. It was whispered about that if the workers voted for the C.I.O., the company would not pay the usual Christmas bonus. When I went to the plant with our representative to discuss the matter with company officials, they said they knew of the rumors but they would take no steps to correct them or to eliminate the workers' fears. As a result we withdrew our petition for an election.

News stories are also means of getting an antiunion program across to the workers. If the company cannot control the local sources of news, it uses sacrilegious periodicals such as *The Gospel Trumpet* and *Militant Truth*.

Antiunion articles almost invariably appear in *Militant Truth*, published by Sherwin A. Patterson of Chattanooga, Tennessee, a few days before an NLRB election in the

Southeast. They follow fairly closely another antilabor paper called *The Gospel Trumpet*, issued by Parson Jack Johnson, a Baptist minister of Columbus, Georgia. These are hate sheets directed against Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. But so great is their hatred of unions that even Catholic and Jewish employers have used these publications as a means of propagandizing their employees.

Companies also campaign against unions by making speeches on company property to what are known as "captive audiences." These speeches are made on company time, and a worker would really be on the spot if he were to leave and refuse to listen.

Denial of Free Speech and Assembly

I saw how these suppressive methods worked in Hogansville, Georgia, where the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company practically controls the economic life of the community. Although the company owned a community building across the road from the plant and permitted the Masonic Lodge and others to hold meetings there, they refused to let the union use the building. One of the employees of the company permitted the union to hold a meeting on his lawn. That night the employee's garage was dynamited. When he reported it to the police the following day he was told that if he continued to be so foolish it might well be his house the next time!

Organizing the Community Against the Union

One of the best organized Citizens Committees against the union is in Anderson, South Carolina. Activities are noted in the following excerpt of the report of the Senate Committee:

"The weapons of propaganda employed by the Anderson Citizens Committee were obviously designed to exploit the ignorance of the uninformed and the fears of the economically insecure. These are the weapons of totalitarian regimes that betray their origin in Fascist attitudes and constitute a serious threat to democratic institutions."

In 1947, long before C.I.O. had an active campaign in Anderson, I personally visited the town. I was able to address the Ministerial Association, and had a very cordial reception. After the Citizens Committee was organized one of our representatives and I called on the secretary of the chamber of commerce, a Presbyterian layman, and on the president of the Ministerial Association. Both men told me that the chamber of commerce would not tolerate John L. Lewis in Anderson. When I informed them that Mr. Lewis was neither involved in this campaign nor any longer in the C.I.O., they refused to believe me. The Anderson chamber of commerce believed that Mr. Lewis was involved, and that was their belief too.

Recently I have been requested by Protestant ministers in Anderson not to embarrass them by coming to see them. Yet the Catholic priest in that community would be deeply hurt if I did not call on him when I am in town. At times he joins me for lunch in the hotel dining room.

Discharges

Discharging an employee during an organizing campaign is almost a regular procedure of management. Under the Taft-Hartley Act it is comparatively easy to do this. At a plant in Charlottesville, Virginia, the company fired five members of the union. After some months of NLRB procedure the company was ordered to reinstate these employees with back pay. When the union again petitioned the NLRB for another election the company again fired the same five employees and started the whole delaying procedure again.

Violence and Gun Play

Violence and gun play have come into being again in the union busting program of the textile manufacturers where unions have already been established. During the strike at the Anchor Rome Mill in Rome, Georgia, a gun was shot into a worker's home and blinded a man. This reacted violently against the union because the blinded man was a strike-breaker. Then the Georgia Bureau of Investigation brought to light the

fact that the shot had come from the gun of a scab who had been armed and kept in the plant by the company. When I recently referred to this incident at the Rome Ministerial Association, the ministers were surprised to learn that the union had not done the shooting.

Injunctions

Since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, injunctions have come back into use as union busters. It is now comparatively easy for the company to get an injunction when any violent action has been displayed, but it takes months to prove who was responsible for the violence. In the meantime the injunction has served the purpose of the company.

Endless Litigation

This is another technique that is being used effectively to discourage organization. Since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act there are no pre-hearing elections. In the months after a petition has been filed with the NLRB the workers lose faith in Government action.

After the union has won collective bargaining rights through elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Boards, in spite of all the opposition, delays in securing a collective bargaining certificate, then

long contract negotiations, often result in a strike before any bargaining in good faith is possible.

The Taft-Hartley Act has nullified many of the good aspects of the Wagner Act, for example: The Wagner Act in section two (2) defined "employer" so as to include "any person acting in the interest of an employer, directly or indirectly." The Taft-Hartley Act in section two (2) changed this definition to read as follows: "The term 'employer' includes any person *acting as an agent* of an employer, directly or indirectly." The Taft-Hartley Act would thus seem to require that before an actual employer can be charged with responsibility for the acts of others a relationship of agency between them must be established.

The Senate Subcommittee in its concluding recommendation says:

"The South must learn, as the great industries of the North have already learned, that the exercise of the rights of free association and collective bargaining by the employees contributes immeasurably to the economic benefit of all, and to the social improvement of the entire community. It is the duty of the Congress, in the interest of the public good, to encourage this organization by sound and practicable labor-management laws."

A minority report of the Senate Subcommittee of labor-management relations giving the opposing views of Senators Taft and Nixon presents additional facts about the labor situation in the Southern textile industry. Copies of the majority and minority reports deserve serious study by concerned churchmen.

Sanctuary

MAN'S EQUAL DIGNITY

Sentences:

"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? . . .
"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee,
but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Invocation:

Almighty God, who in thy Son didst walk among us as a workman, and who in him hast sanctified labor to the good of us all, keep us all mindful of our close dependence one upon the other, that we may be delivered from the sins of unconcern and injustice; that we may know the joy of common endeavor; and that the work of hands, minds, and dedicated possessions may serve thy glory in the common good. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hymn: "O Master Workman of the Race."

Prayer of Confession:

O thou divine Creator of the world, who hast so ordered thy world that we are made in thy image to have dominion over thy other creatures and who hast made us co-workers with thyself to the end that we might subdue the earth, we acknowledge that our human willfulness and waywardness, our ignorance and greed, our idleness and oppression have wrought evil instead of good. Now, O Father, the joy of man in work has departed from multitudes, and tension and strife mark our dealings the one with the other. Forgive us our part in the sins which have brought forth such tragic issue. And, O Heavenly Master, grant us a share in that new work which shall repair the evil. For Jesus' sake. Amen.

Scripture Lesson: Matthew 20: 25-28.

Meditation:

"Whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be your slave."

Now, what sort of talk is this? What paradox is here laid before our startled eyes? This is no mere injunction to humility, though the spiritual willingness to accept low station is of tremendous importance. Here are compared Caesar, who stands at the very top of the social pyramid, and a bond servant, at its very bottom. Those whom the world calls great are the lords of power and amass riches. Those whom the world despises, or calls lowly, earn their bread by dint of sweat and toil.

Jesus said, "If you want to be great, here is your pattern, here at the bottom of the pile." He dismisses the Caesars as of little worth. The slaves he counts as great.

Why? The slave, the swinger of hammers, the layer of bricks, the tiller of soil makes common cause with the family of God, and the whole human community. As he works, he weaves the single thread of his own life into the pattern of the community and so discovers meaning for his own life in the common destiny.

The fact of community is uniquely human. There is nothing quite comparable to it in the animal world. The worker illustrates the principle of community in so far as he is constantly pouring out his strength to produce the common necessities. It has been pointed out that a brute can overpower a man; that a man who seeks such pre-eminence finds only brutal supremacy, never human dignity. There is no human greatness about the ability to overpower others. No, he who would be great must *ascend* to the level of the worker, and give his life in service, pouring out his strength for the common good. Further, he who would have standing as a human being must recognize at least an equal worth in the other producers.

Is it so hard to believe that this is God's will for our lives? We find the pattern set for us by the Master. Not only did he labor as a carpenter in Nazareth, but he sought out hard-handed men of toil for his friends. And he declared it his purpose to give his life for others, that they might have life. Finally, just before he was betrayed, he girt himself with a towel and served his friends as a menial, washing their feet, saying, "I have given you an example."

That the heavenly definition of greatness disturbs us is clearly evident. It disturbed the men of Jesus' day also. Yet mortal men of every age have had need of it. If we are to take seriously the pattern here set before us, we must devise new schemes of human relationships in every phase of life.

In relationships between employer and employed, for instance, collective bargaining is such a step. A wise judge once said, "Liberty of contract begins where equality of bargaining power exists." As we understand the term, collective bargaining is nothing less than a foundation stone of man's equal dignity in the structure of society.

The problem here lies in the realm of power. So long as I have power over my neighbor, I am likely to exploit him, and justify my exploitation on the grounds of purity of motive. History provides abundant testimony that in all struggles for power, those who have been powerless have been able to see the evil that is done to them, while those who have power do not see the evil. Some means must be found, then, of distributing power, to the end that each man is able to participate in decisions that affect his life, and each group is also able to participate in decisions that affect its interests. As long as human nature remains blind on the side of its own interests, let the more enlightened Christian work for increasing love and justice.

Prayer of Dedication:

O God, we believe that thy grace can transform all of life: the inward man first, and his social relationships thereafter. Thus do we pray for thy Kingdom's coming, with its high evaluations of human dignity. Help us, we pray, to seek every means available consistent with thy will to move the life of our time more closely toward the design of thy will. So may thy Kingdom come and thy will be done increasingly here. Amen.
—*Prepared by Paul C. McFarlin, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Delta, Colorado.*

CHRISTIAN *Action*

INFLATION CONTROL IS EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS!

Inflation is the number-one enemy that America must overcome if we are to keep our civilian economy healthy while we build vast armaments. A report, *Defense Without Inflation*, published by the Twentieth Century Fund in April warns that a rate of inflation increase greater than 5 per cent a year might be regarded as a danger signal to the nation and its economic health and well-being.

The Fund report asserts bluntly that "a nation that indulges in inflation shows itself to be lacking in discipline, in ability to face problems realistically and to reach agreement about matters of crucial importance. . . . To make controls effective sets several requirements:

"1. A widespread spirit of compliance.

"2. Adequate enforcement machinery, to conserve the spirit of compliance by assuring the public that there is no large group of dealers who are getting rich by disregarding controls.

"3. Budget and monetary measures strong enough to prevent any large excess of spending power, and thus to curtail temptations for buyer and seller to deal above ceiling prices."

Looking at the national picture as a whole, the report calls for reasonableness among the great interest groups of the na-

tion. "Neither mobilization nor stabilization can be achieved by trying to give each group all it aspires to—or even all it may feel reasonably entitled to in a climate where other groups are being treated generously. Inflation cannot be stopped if the pull and haul among groups leads into a political logrolling operation where Government helps each group enlarge its money income to match increases secured by others.

"The pattern of a stabilization compromise is that of reciprocal willingness to sacrifice. To ask wage earners to accept wage stabilization in a context where profits, food prices, and rents can rise freely would be politically hopeless, as well as unfair. But it is reasonable to call on wage earners to accept wage stabilization as part of a program which includes stable retail prices, corporation taxes adequate to capture a large fraction of any growth in profits, and high personal taxes on upper-income individuals. The same principle applies to the acceptability to farmers of farm prices below the ratios to parity which they now aspire to. Similarly, business must accept heavy taxes, price control regulations, and the inconveniences of allocating scarce goods to buyers (with or without rationing)."

A NEW CHARTER FOR PHILADELPHIA

The approval of a new city charter by Philadelphia voters last April established the city as the first metropolitan center in the United States to make the principle of fair employment practices a part of its basic law. The new charter provides for a Commission on Human Relations, which would supersede the present setup and

work of the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

In addition to its specific mandate to adjust employment differences arising at the points of race or religion, the new human relations unit is charged with the responsibility to use its total machinery toward the "promotion of understanding

among persons and groups of different races, colors, religions, and national origins." This portion of the new commission's work, when in motion, will also mark the first time that a major city government has provided for permanent effort toward that goal.

Negro supporters of the charter movement believe that much support came from appreciable work done by many Negro ministers in church and community groups.

Judge Herbert E. Millen, a Presbyterian

layman, and Tanner G. Duckrey, Negro members of the Charter Commission, had urged support of the charter upon the major premises that the human relations provisions would establish the city as a leader in that field; while the new civil service program would open job opportunities for efficient individuals without racial and political discrimination. It was the appeal of these provisions, political leaders have indicated, which brought a much larger number of Negro voters to the polls than had been expected.

MINISTERS-IN-INDUSTRY

During June, July, and August, students for the Christian ministry worked as laborers in Pittsburgh steel mills and factories while they were members of the summer seminar of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations.

The purpose of the project was to learn firsthand how men and women work in industry, how they live, how they think and act, and why they so think and act, in order that the students may serve with more effectiveness among urban workers when they have become ordained ministers.

All the students worked as laborers without being identified to fellow workers, to foremen, or to shop stewards as being ministerial students. Three evenings a week the group met for study and discussion, often with a guest speaker.

About half the students selected an inner-city church where they worshiped on Sundays and gave what assistance in the program they could within the limits of their work and study schedules. With so many of the students working on the rotating shifts of the steel mills the experience gave a practical demonstration of what laymen face as wage earners and as churchmen.

The ministers-in-industry project was first organized during the summer of 1950. We believe it to be the first program to be

conducted by a Protestant denomination for ministerial students. Early in 1945, James Myers, who was then with the Federal Council of Churches, suggested the idea to Marshall Scott, Dean of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, but it was not until the summer of 1950 that the experiment was actually tried.

It was hoped that all the students could have the experience of attending union meetings as union members. Unfortunately, the sixty-day waiting period kept most of the men from being able to join a union until the last month and only part of the group had the opportunity of attending union meetings. In one plant there was no union. In general, these fragmentary observations can be made:

In several plants (mostly steel mills) union elections were held during the summer. Most of the workers voted on the candidates and exercised considerable independence. Independent candidates defeated "administration" candidates in about half of the elections observed. The students—in their limited experiences—observed no rubber-stamping.

Attendance at union meetings was very small. This may be more true in summer, but in one case attendance records had not varied greatly for months. The average attendance certainly was not more than one or two per cent of the membership.

Although almost none of the men worked where there was a union-shop contract, with an automatic union membership, no one seemed much concerned about getting them into the unions. In none of the plants was there any evidence of anyone's being pressured into the union; in fact, it was quite the contrary.

One student in the group was a Negro. No mention of this was made at any time in making any arrangements. When he appeared at the local office of the steelworkers union the district representative knew only that a ministerial student was coming. No indication of any kind of surprise or concern was evident when the student turned out to be colored. The same was true of the employment director of the steel company when the union representative and the student went into the company

office. The student was unaware of any discrimination on the part of the foreman or of fellow workers. It is to the credit of Pittsburgh that at no time during the summer was there any evidence of discrimination because of the interracial character of the group.

A few of the students became increasingly interested in Pittsburgh slums, particularly the areas near the seminaries on the North Side. Particularly shocking was the discovery of the high rentals paid in the rotten rooming-house areas. The summer closed without the group's having made a systematic enough study to draw any conclusions other than that there is something wrong with a society that has such productive powers and continues to tolerate such living conditions for so many millions of its people.

PRESENTING THE PRONOUNCEMENTS

For the past three years during the month of September the adult Bible class at Westminster Presbyterian Church in South Bend, Indiana, has studied the social pronouncements of General Assembly. The minister has presented various sections of the pronouncements, emphasizing the subject matter as well as the demo-

cratic process by which pronouncements are made. His presentation has evoked much discussion, and many class members have been surprised that the Church takes such forthright stands on social issues. Through the year portions of the pronouncements have also been printed in the weekly church bulletin.

Worth Looking Into

What Do You Know About Labor?

Foremost economists, experts in business management and labor relations, officials of labor unions, and social and political scientists have contributed to a volume of *The Annals*, March, 1951, entitled *Labor in the American Economy*. They trace the evolution of the American labor movement and our national labor policies, analyze labor's needs, desires, and problems, and deal objectively with such subjects as "Labor and Economic Power," "Labor and Political Power," and "The Impact of Unionism on Management Policies."

Ministers in industrial areas and social action leaders will find this volume especially enlightening and readable!

The Annals is the regular bimonthly publication of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Each issue is devoted to a topic of outstanding national or international importance.

Members of the Academy receive the six volumes of *The Annals* published each year. The annual membership fee is \$5.00. Single copies of *Labor in the American Economy* may be obtained by nonmembers of the Academy at a cost of \$2.00 per copy.

Additional copies to members, \$1.00 each. Applications for membership in the Academy and all orders for *The Annals* should be addressed to the Academy offices, 3817 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

"Religion at the News Desk" is a 15-minute radio broadcast, a Protestant commentary on public affairs, relating our Christian faith to specific social problems. It is not just a "religious news" program telling what bishops are doing. It deals with major news events at home and abroad. The program is broadcast weekly over WELI in New Haven, Connecticut, under the auspices of the New Haven Council of Churches. Growing out of a program that started on July 1, 1949, "Religion at the News Desk" goes on the air fifty-two weeks a year.

William Miller and Ernest Lefever, who head the project, believe that comment on the news always springs from certain basic values that ought to be acknowledged openly. Therefore, "Religion at the News Desk" is not just a news report. It takes a position on crucial issues, not intended to represent all Protestants, or to be "the Christian viewpoint," but it does represent

the Christian faith of those who write it.

The scripts are prepared by a group of Christians who check, criticize, and support each other and attempt to reflect the emerging consensus of ecumenical pronouncements. The writers and researchers are graduate student specialists in religion and ethics at Yale Divinity School, and in various social sciences at Yale University. The scripts deal competently and courageously with the most vital aspects of the nation's news. Their lively style and general excellence have won the program two national religious radio awards.

Churchmen throughout the country are free to use the scripts in their entirety, in part, or with modifications, as long as the original meaning is not changed. Scripts are available for rebroadcasting, for publishing, or for personal use:

For broadcasting or publishing: 10 weeks, \$2.00; 26 weeks, \$5.00.

For personal use only: 10 weeks, \$1.00; 26 weeks, \$2.50.

Subscriptions and requests for further information should be sent to Religion at the News Desk, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Conn.

Citizenship

Universal Military Service and Training—Contrary to a popular misconception, UMT is not as yet "the law of the land." As finally approved, the Draft Bill (S. 1) contained a provision that the President appoint a five-man commission to prepare a plan within four months for a program for universal military training. That program or plan will be subject to hearings in both the Senate and House Armed Services Committees and must be voted on in both Houses. There is and will be ample opportunity for opponents of the plan to register their disapproval. President Truman has named the following as members of the commission: James

W. Wadsworth (former U. S. Senator, and as a House member, author of the 1940 Selective Service Act), three-year term, and is designated as chairman; Lt.-Gen. Raymond S. McLain, five-year term; Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid, Ret., four-year term; William L. Clayton (former Undersecretary of State) and Dr. Karl T. Compton, well-known scientist, two-year terms.

Housing—The Senate Appropriations Committee restored the Administration's public housing program for next year to 50,000 units, in reporting out H.R. 3880, the independent offices appropriation bill.

The House had reduced the program to 5,000 units after its own Appropriations Committee had recommended 50,000. President Truman had recommended that the public housing program proceed at the rate of 75,000 units annually, starting in 1951. Scarcity of materials prompted both the House and Senate Committees to scale the figure down to 50,000. As we go to press, this measure is in a conference committee.

A move to force House action on the bogged-down Defense Housing Bill resulted in the Senate tacking the entire bill, as an amendment, onto the controls bills which it passed in the early morning hours of June 29. Thus even if the House should take no action on the housing amendment, it would come up in the conference committee which will meet to work out the House and Senate differences on controls. The Defense Housing Bill (May issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS) passed the Senate on April 9, but, as of press time, had been blocked from coming to the floor of the House.

Controls—As we go to press, the extension of the Defense Production Act (economic controls) is being hotly debated on the floor of the House. The House bill provides for a one-year extension of the controls with numerous restrictions and conditions. As passed by the Senate, the bill was extended for only eight months with numerous curtailments of the existing law. Subject to the influence of changing world circumstances, it appears, at press time, as though a vastly watered-down version of the present act will finally be adopted. As one member of the House put it, it will be a "controls bill" in name only.

Migrant Labor—As we go to press, the President has just signed the bill recently passed by Congress authorizing the importation of Mexican farm laborers. The measure would authorize the Secretary of

Labor to recruit Mexican labor for communities where the United States labor supply is inadequate. The A.F.L. and the C.I.O. had both urged President Truman to veto the bill, claiming that the measure runs counter to recommendations of his own Commission on Migratory Labor, would hurt American farm workers, and would result in heavy costs to American taxpayers. Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had urged the President to sign it.

Foreign Aid—Early in July the House Foreign Affairs Committee began hearings on the Administration's foreign aid bill (S. 1762). Hearings were scheduled to open later in the Senate Committee. The bill represents a one-package request for foreign aid funds for the current year. The requests total \$8.5 billion—largest foreign aid budget ever presented to Congress.

In 1948 Congress appropriated \$6.1 billion for the first 15 months of the Marshall Plan—all of it classified as economic assistance. In the present bill the Administration is asking for \$6.2 billion to provide military aid for our allies, and only \$2.3 billion for economic aid. Much of the latter sum is to be used for winding up the Marshall Plan program. The present bill breaks down as follows:

Economic	Military
	<i>Europe</i>
\$1,650,000,000	\$5,240,000,000
	<i>Middle East</i>
125,000,000	415,000,000
	<i>Asia</i>
375,000,000	555,000,000
	<i>Latin America</i>
22,000,000	40,000,000
<i>Administration Expenses</i>	
78,000,000	—

It is expected that sharp opposition to all items not bearing military significance will be encountered in both Houses.

THE LOYALTY OF FREE MEN

By ALAN BARTH, *editorial staff member, The Washington Post.*

I WANT to talk particularly about loyalty oaths—not because I suppose them to be any more baleful in respect to teachers than in respect to any other trade or calling, but because they have become the most pervasive symptom of the neurotic anxiety which I presume to be the real root of our present troubles.

One can only guess at the judgment of posterity. My own guess is that historians sufficiently removed from the present to look at it with detachment may very well refer to it as the era of the oath. Oath-taking is not new, of course. It has served a ritual function throughout the whole history of Western civilization. The peculiarity of contemporary oath-taking, however, is, first of all, its prevalence, and, secondly, its negative nature. It is a mistake to call the kind of oath so commonly required of men today a "loyalty oath." A loyalty oath, by definition, would have to be an affirmation. But the kind of declaration to which more and more Americans are now being asked to subscribe is a disclaimer. Instead of calling it a "loyalty oath," we ought, in the interest of accuracy,

to refer to it as a "nondisloyalty oath."

Oaths of affirmation have long been familiar to us. There can scarcely be a man, woman, or child in America who has not pledged "allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." The meaning of this pledge, recited in unison by millions of school children every weekday morning, is perhaps vague and uncertain. Nevertheless, participation in this ritual has certainly had a unifying influence. The very act of recitation has served to charge the flag with emotional significance and thus to evoke devotion to it. And it has drawn Americans closer together through a sense of common devotion.

No one has ever supposed, however—and certainly no one supposes today—that the taking of this oath is an effective guarantee against disloyalty. No real reliance is placed upon it. The best that can be said for it in this respect is that, like any incantation, it gives solidarity to the participating group and a comforting

Excerpts from Mr. Barth's address at the Thirty-seventh Annual Dinner Meeting of the American Association of University Professors, in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 16 and 17, 1951.

sense that it has warded off evil spirits. And certainly this is a utility not lightly to be dismissed.

SOMETHING of the same ritualistic quality lies behind the oath we have always required of our public officials. We insist that upon assuming office they swear solemnly to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, to bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and to discharge their duties well and faithfully—or some such form of words. We do not feel any great confidence that this will protect us against simony, graft, or even treason. But it is useful as a reminder to Government servants of the responsibility with which they have been entrusted.

Similarly, we exact of everyone who testifies in a court of law a sworn promise that he will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We are not so naïve as to suppose that this will infallibly keep him from bearing false witness; and judges often instruct juries that they must choose between conflicting testimony.

THERE is a vast difference between oaths of this kind and the negative swearing that has lately come so much into vogue. The pledge of allegiance to the flag has been debased by insistence that men swear in addition that they are not disloyal to the United States. It is no longer suffi-

cient that a man swear to uphold the Constitution when he undertakes to work for the Government; he must now swear, besides, that he does not advocate the overthrow of that Government.

Our total lack of confidence in oaths is measured by this redundant insistence on them. If we do not believe a man when he swears to uphold the Constitution, why, in the name of common sense, should we be any more disposed to take his word when he swears that he will not attempt to destroy the Constitution? The answer, of course, is that we have lost all faith in what he says in either case. But we insist on his saying it over and over again in the blind, unreasoning way that primitive tribes insisted upon rites of purification and blood sacrifices that had no relation to reality.

The nondisloyalty oath has become as fashionable as opinion polls or canasta. The exaction of it has spread from the Federal Government to state Governments. It has permeated our schools and institutions of higher learning. Now it is spreading into professional associations and even into private industry.

Just a couple of weeks ago a special committee of the American Bar Association—an organization that might reasonably have been expected to show a somewhat greater regard for the spirit of American institutions—recommended not only that all Communists be disbarred but also

that every member of the bar be required to file an affidavit stating whether he is now or has ever at any time in the past been a member of the Communist Party or of any organization on the Attorney General's list. And it urged investigation of all persons suspected of subscribing to the affidavit falsely. The protests of such distinguished lawyers as John W. Davis and Robert P. Patterson and Owen J. Roberts were ignored.

A month or two earlier, the Columbia Broadcasting System—in an apparent attempt to prove that it could wave the American flag more dizzily than any other network—demanded that all its employees file an affidavit of the same sort telling whether they had ever at any time belonged to one of the Attorney General's proscribed groups. And behind the inquiry there was implicit, of course, the threat of dismissal for failure to answer, or for an answer that proved displeasing to the officials of the company. Whatever justification there may be for this sort of inquisition into the lawful past affiliations of an employee on the part of the Government, there is no justification for it, I think, on the part of a private employer. Employees—whether teachers or radio broadcasters or hod carriers—deserve to be judged on the basis of their performance in their jobs, not on the basis of private beliefs and associations, so long as these have no affect upon the quality of their work.

Now, I do not propose to dwell on the objections to this sort of inquiry and oath-taking from the point of view of the individual affected by them. Although my principal concern is with their effect upon society, let me say why I think that any American has good cause to resent and resist demands of this sort that he profess his innocence of sympathies and intentions of which there are no good reasons to suspect him.

First of all, the protestations extorted by loyalty oaths and inquiries are humiliating—senselessly humiliating. Professor Zechariah Chafee has made this point, it seems to me, in an extraordinarily illuminating way. "Let us," he said, "picture the parallel situation of a loyal wife whose chastity is similarly doubted by a suspicious husband. He too demands a public assertion—at a dinner party in their home. He insists that his wife tell all their guests that she has never been unfaithful to him, and particularly not with a person he names. It is all true—why not say so?" It seems to me that even if loyalty oaths were not demanded discriminatorily, they would be an abomination. It is never comfortable to wear one's heart on one's sleeve.

Secondly, these oaths and inquiries invade long-recognized rights of privacy. If a man may be held accountable to society for what he believes, as distinguished from what he does, he becomes subject to something very like the thought control which we so

derided when it was practiced by the Japanese. And thought control is, I think, the real purpose back of this kind of inquisition. You need only translate the questions now asked so commonly about political belief and affiliation into questions about religious affiliation to see how mischievous and offensive they are.

Thirdly, these oaths and inquiries imply a presumption of guilt instead of the presumption of innocence that has traditionally protected individuals under American law. And they shift the whole burden of proof from the accuser to the accused. It is enormously difficult for a man to prove that he was not, at some indefinite time in the past, a member of the Communist Party or, say, of the League for Peace and Democracy. For one thing, the attributes of membership—as distinguished from “sympathetic association” or informal affiliation or ideological support—have never been precisely defined. For another, it is impossible to get corroborative testimony. If you are accused of having robbed a bank on the night of March 16, 1951, you may be able to produce a number of university professors who will swear that you were here at the Sinton Hotel at that particular time. But if you are accused of being a secret member of some group or conspiracy, no one can provide any conclusive support of your denial. Your friends can do no more than affirm their faith in you—a weak form of assistance, since

it has been amply demonstrated that friends may be mistaken in their faith. And your own denial will seem, of course, manifestly self-serving.

Given the present tendency to use perjury prosecutions as a means of punishing people for past affiliations which are not in themselves unlawful and the present overheated atmosphere in which juries reach their verdicts, any denial of such a charge may be dangerous. And even the most honest subscription to a non-disloyalty affidavit may lead a man into serious trouble. It is a slightly wonderful paradox that these oaths and inquiries present far graver perils to those who deny Communist affiliations than to those who acknowledge them.

I have said nothing about the utility of these oaths and inquiries from the point of view of the national security which they are supposed to protect. It is generally taken for granted that Communists have no moral scruples about false swearing. Yet it seems to be assumed, by those who place reliance on nondisloyalty oaths, that a Communist can somehow be counted upon to answer truthfully when asked about his party affiliation. I have no doubt that there are dangerous Soviet agents in the United States plotting espionage and sabotage and the overthrow of the Government. But I have a great deal of doubt that they will step forward to register with the Attorney General or proclaim their intentions

when confronted with an affidavit. The dangerous people are carefully disguised, I suspect, as vociferous anti-Communists. No oath or inquiry is likely to cause them the smallest qualm. So far as catching real enemies of the country is concerned, this ritual procedure is about as effectual as a requirement that all criminals register with their local police departments—or a requirement that all citizens take an oath they will do nothing unethical or unpatriotic.

IT CAN be argued that injuries, or even injustices, to individuals ought to be endured in a time of crisis if they serve real social purposes. But the impact of the present craze to extirpate heresy, or disloyalty—call it what you will—is, I think, socially disastrous.

Behind the shift to negativism implicit in the nondisloyalty oaths, there lies a terrible distrust. A nation, in many ways, is like a family. The cement that holds its members together is compounded of mutual dependence, mutual confidence, and common acceptance of certain basic values or purposes. Under the corroding influence of a spreading distrust, that cement is seeping away dangerously in American life. We are succumbing to groundless and neurotic fear. I have no wish to gloss over the real dangers that confront us today. The Soviet Union is an aggressive, totalitarianism. Like every other totalitarian society, it is made ines-

capably aggressive by its inner tensions; and it is, therefore, necessarily menacing to free societies. It can be checked only through resolute action and armed strength on the part of the United States.

It is equally plain, of course, that the Soviet Union has agents in this country striving to impair our strength. Members of the Communist Party are no doubt among those agents, just as the party itself is manifestly an instrument of Soviet policy. But the most dangerous agents may not be party members at all. Their activities must be checked by rational security measures and by vigilant counterintelligence. And they can be checked in this way—just as the activities of German and Japanese agents were checked; and so effectively that J. Edgar Hoover was able to report that not a single enemy-directed act of sabotage occurred during the whole course of World War II.

ESPIONAGE and sabotage are real threats to security. But fear that the Communists can overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence is an absurd nightmare. Fear of subversion—that is, of the influence of Communist propaganda and doctrine—is equally a bugbear. The United States is not ripe for revolution. And democratic ideas are quite healthy enough to withstand Communist ideas. The democratic system is not only su-

perior to the Communist system, but it is superior also in its appeal to men who have been privileged to live under it.

Nevertheless, neurotic fear, like an infectious disease, has taken a strong grip upon the American people. And this fear is being aggravated and exploited by reckless demagogues. I think it safe to say that the mad-dog barkings of Senator McCarthy would have been recognized for what they were and laughed off by the American people a few years ago. But in the atmosphere of anxiety and distrust that prevails today, they have a deadly impact.

It is becoming more and more difficult in the contemporary atmosphere to shape foreign or domestic policy on rational grounds. The democratic process cannot operate when disagreement is in constant danger of being considered disloyal. Today only the most extreme chauvinism can pass for patriotism.

The result is that the United States is being deprived of its most stabilizing influence—the resolution of policy through criticism and debate. This is the real secret weapon of a democracy. The lack of it is the fatal defect of a dictatorship. Dictators may carry policy into practice more swiftly than Governments dependent upon the consent of the governed; but this may mean no more than that they can more swiftly translate errors into national disaster. Free men—if they exercise their freedom—have a

means of correcting their mistakes.

THE democratic process depends, above all else, on a broad and generous tolerance of diversity—tolerance of opinions we despise and even of opinions that we deem disloyal. It is always easy to find a rationalization for the suppression of opinion; and the temptation to do so is very great when men are frightened and angry. They are prone to call the opinions they detest treasonable and to characterize the holders of such opinions as conspirators.

The men who established the American Republic understood the dangers of this kind of rationalization and did the best they could to guard against it. They stipulated in the Constitution that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." And their reasons for defining treason so narrowly and rigidly are peculiarly applicable today.

IT IS no accident that nondisloyalty oaths and inquiry into political opinions are directed in large part at our schools and universities. They are devices for compelling conformity. And the men responsible for them are men who distrust diversity and fear ideas. They are in revolt against rationality. Their attack is directed in the first instance at

schools and universities precisely because these are centers of ideas.

Professor Chafee has called this attack, aptly, "a barbarian invasion." It is just that. It is another manifestation of the age-old assault of ignorance upon learning, of bigotry upon reason. The men who launch it here are one with their spiritual kinfolk in Germany and Russia who prefer to think with the blood and who despise everything that concerns the intellect. If we do not ward off their attack, we shall descend into a new dark age.

Universities are the citadels of intellectual freedom. And it is against these citadels that the attack is launched because its aim is nothing less than the extinction of intellectual freedom. In a period of profound anxiety, when fear can be exploited and unreason flourishes, the

danger of this attack must not be underestimated. The attackers will have their way, as their counterparts had it in Germany and Italy before the war and have it today behind the Iron Curtain, unless you, as men of learning, close your ranks, recognize the deadly peril to your independence, and fight resolutely, with every resource at your command, to repel the barbarians. You have a responsibility in this that goes beyond your own interest as teachers. You are the trustees of a cultural heritage that must not be lost.

If you defend freedom for your profession, you defend the whole of human freedom. And it is to this, more than to any other value, that Americans owe allegiance. The loyalty of free men is, above all, a loyalty to the illimitable freedom of the human mind.

WORLD ORDER OR UNITED NATIONS SUNDAY — OCTOBER 21 UNITED NATIONS DAY — OCTOBER 24

Significant days in the Church calendar and particularly fitting times to launch our Presbyterian program of Study and Action for Peace

These three things you can do now:

1. Join or form a study and action group of ten to twenty persons in your church. Schedule the group's opening meeting on World Order Sunday or on United Nations Day.
2. Use the study and action guide for Christians in world affairs, *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*, edited by Paul Newton Poling, and published by the Division of Social Education and Action.
3. Work for the extension of this thinking and action for peace until it becomes a nation-wide interdenominational movement for peace.

THE SCHOOLS AND SUBVERSION

By WALTER GELLHORN, *Professor of Law, Cornell University.*

This article is an extract from a chapter contributed by Professor Gellhorn to The States and Subversion, a volume soon to be published by the Cornell University Press as one of the Cornell Studies in Civil Liberties.

THE American system of government is based upon freedom, and especially upon freedom of ideas. That freedom has sometimes been threatened and, indeed, impaired by efforts to preserve it. Legislative intrusion upon education, upon personal privacy, and even upon the opportunity to appeal publicly to the electorate has become frequent rather than unusual. Usually this has been justified as a measure of needed protection against Communism. Whether it is *for* democracy as well as against Communism is a question that sometimes remains unexplored.

Every democratically minded person properly detests the brutalities and excesses of dictatorship, whether "proletarian" or any other. Every patriot understandably views with acute suspicion the maneuvers of a giant rival—a rival that preaches the inevitability of world revolution and meanwhile practices the coldly cynical power politics of old-fashioned nationalism.

But when all this has been fully acknowledged, one has still to ask

whether the people of the United States have perhaps yielded to an overexcitement that will debilitate them if not soon controlled. Prudence can be overborne by hate and fear as well as by carelessness.

NOWHERE has concern about subversive activities been more steadily manifest than in the educational process. While only eighteen states specifically exclude subversive persons (variously defined) from employment in Government service, twenty-six states bar them from teaching in public schools and state universities. Almost without exception the publicly supported school is a leading target, if not the primary target, of state legislative investigations into un-American activities.

Interest in educational subversion is by no means confined to personnel problems. Censorship of schoolbooks has been common. In a Western state, for example, a text underwent legislative editing because it contained the un-American acknowledgment that "one third of our people are

poorly housed." The school board of a Texas city found intolerable an author's assertion that even in the United States there were occasional "bits of socialism," such as the postal system.

Senator Tenney and his California committee, according to his own statement, "definitely concluded" that a high school course in marriage and family relations "was a Communist plot to destroy the fiber of youth"; and the Tenney influence overcame the urgings of educators, Y.M.C.A. leaders, and others that California permit its teachers, colleges, and high schools to establish courses of this type.

The Nebraska legislature in 1949 adopted a more positive approach to the curriculum. It directed each local school board to designate a "committee on Americanism." This committee was then to inspect all the American history and government textbooks and to "assure themselves as to the character of all teachers employed, and their knowledge and acceptance of the American form of government." Finally, to make certain that the sterilized schoolbooks and the pasteurized teachers would be put to good use, the legislature commanded that grammar schools devote specified hours to memorizing "The Star-spangled Banner" and to reciting stories having to do with history "or the deeds and exploits of American heroes." When a child reached high school, he was given at

least two full-year courses, lasting not less than three hours each week, in which (among other things) attention must be directed specifically to the "benefits and advantages of our form of government and the dangers and fallacies of Nazism, Communism, and similar ideologies." As one Nebraska orator put it at the time, "Borrow a lesson from Hitler and Stalin and teach our children Americanism!"

IN TOTALITARIAN countries—and, as educational studies have shown, this is very markedly true in the Soviet Union—school children are taught exactly what they are to think, but are not encouraged to develop the habit of intellectual independence. Wittingly or not, many earnest proponents of the American way apparently feel that the totalitarians have the correct approach in this respect.

On the other side is the feeling that schools should heighten their students' capacity to analyze problems, to organize and apply the pertinent factual materials, and to maintain a genuine open-mindedness, if not an active skepticism. The New Jersey State Board of Education, for instance, urged late in 1949 that public-school teachers in that state should freely discuss "controversial questions" in their classrooms, being careful to present both sides of all issues. Of course this prompting may not instantly stir response in every

New Jersey teacher. Confidence has been shaken by other school boards' dismissals of instructors for allowing two-sided discussion of race relations, international organization, and "radicalism," or for believing in disarmament, or for doubting the ultimate wisdom of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Being actively orthodox rather than open-mindedly inquiring has been the safer course for public educators. Their enforced timidity must first be overcome if passively uncritical attitudes are to be replaced by fresh thinking and a warm social conscience.

In late years the political identification of teachers, especially those at the college level, has been stressed even more than the character of what they taught. The policy that Communists should not be allowed to serve on faculties has gained wide acceptance despite the pleadings of the American Association of University Professors and a few other traditional upholders of academic freedom. Support for that policy has come from many reputable sources as well as from the professional heresy hunters. Numerous educators, including the University of California faculty, and organizations like the National Education Association endorse it. The University of Washington put it into practice by dismissing two avowed Communists and a professor whose relations with the Communist Party were thought to be ambiguous.

THE theory underlying the prescription of Communists as teachers rests on two propositions: first, that their political obligations include surrender of their intellectual freedom; and, secondly, that they will abuse their academic privileges by seeking to indoctrinate their students.

Both of these propositions may be true, in whole or in part, in all cases or in some. But the fact must candidly be reported that their invariable truth has simply been assumed rather than tested in the various state investigations thus far held. By reiteration they have acquired the character of dogmas. This makes it impolitic to inquire into their soundness. Like other dogmas, however, these may be correct or mistaken in particular instances. The states have made no sustained efforts to demonstrate their validity by collecting concrete proofs.

The University of Washington based its action against its errant faculty members on the supposition that they had abandoned their brains to some other person's dictation. If this had occurred, the professors were no longer free to seek the truth, to perceive it according to their ability, and to expound ideas with integrity. Thus they were unfit to remain within a community of scholars. Interestingly enough, however, the evidence that was introduced about the affected trio tended to show that they taught objectively and, in their extracur-

ricular affairs, were personally convinced of the soundness of the opinions they espoused.

At the same time, the University of Washington investigation revealed that others of the faculty had been members of the Communist Party at various times, but had left it upon finding themselves in disagreement. This suggests that at least in the Seattle group of Communists individuals were free to accept or reject the partisan dogmas their leaders might proclaim. If they accepted them, presumably they did so because they wished to do so rather than because they feared to depart in dissent.

IN FACT, much of the testimony about the "iron discipline" of the Communist Party comes from persons who used to be its adherents but who later broke with it for one reason or another. The prevalence of repentant or repudiated Communists—a current New York estimate places the figure at a full million persons within the last thirty years—casts considerable doubt on the notion that the constraints of membership are unyielding.

So far as the state records shed light on the matter, many Communists in this country apparently remain Communists because they believe in what they are doing. Judge Learned Hand, when sustaining the recent conviction of eleven Communist leaders under the Federal Smith Act, said that the party's adherents

were "rigidly and ruthlessly disciplined" and were required to observe an "inflexible doctrinal orthodoxy." No doubt this accurately describes the matter in countries where political police and personal violence enforce party commands. In the United States, the evidence at the state legislative hearings suggests a different conclusion. The pressure to conform to group patterns—or, as it is sometimes phrased, "to accept discipline"—appears indeed to be strong within the Communist Party as it probably is within other semi-clandestine bodies. But obviously it is not utterly irresistible.

There is, however, another aspect of the matter. Communists are generally believed to modify their asserted beliefs in order to meet the tactical needs of the immediate moment. Thus, for example, a historian might be called upon to distort historical facts in order to further some partisan object. Although he might fully realize that his historical observations were spurious, he might nevertheless be willing (if a Communist) to be intellectually dishonest for his party's purposes. It is especially in this sense that acquiescence can be said to be a product of party discipline. It is especially in this sense, too, that the surrender of the mind would render a teacher unworthy of his profession.

HERE again, the inquiries of the states simply assert the exist-

ence rather than demonstrate the specific occurrence of this sort of impropriety. Full reliance has been placed on quotations from Lenin, from party writings of various sorts, and from Communist utterances in other days or contexts; these are used as though they equally reflected the active personal philosophy of every single Communist without the slightest modification or variation. Little effort has been made to show that a particular individual has behaved in an unprincipled manner.

In my own judgment, evidence that an instructor is a Communist would amply justify an inquiry by the appropriate academic authorities into what sort of teacher he is. But, standing alone, it falls short of conclusive proof that he has frittered away his intellectual freedom and is therefore no longer fit to teach. If he is to be ousted on that ground, a more particularized and personalized body of evidence should be brought forward to establish the facts of the matter. General propositions, to paraphrase Justice Holmes's words, ought not decide concrete cases.

AS FOR the question of indoctrination, here again the state investigations have assumed rather than found that every Communist perverts his academic duties. The Washington proceedings carefully omitted any charge that the affected professors had misused their lecture platforms; such evidence as did

come in on this point supported the professors' assertions that they had not been propagandists.

The New York legislature in 1949 enacted a law to facilitate the ousting of Communist teachers. Communists, the legislators declared, ought not be permitted to teach because they disseminate propaganda—a propaganda, they added morosely, that was frequently “sufficiently subtle to escape detection in the classroom.” No doubt this insidious subtlety accounts for the fact that rarely is a “disloyal” teacher charged with indoctrinating pupils with his hated ideas. His misconduct is simply assumed even though no proof of its existence can be brought forward.

In purely practical terms, is a campaign to identify and eliminate “disloyal” persons from academic posts socially worth-while? Is the possibility of having undetected Communists on the campus more dangerous to American education than is the investigation of faculty members' ideas and behavior?

LET there be no mistake about what happens when the search is launched for Communists. Once one agrees that Communist teachers should be ousted because they are Communists rather than because they have demonstrated any personal unfitness, it is only natural to try to discover whether there are any. They are unlikely to offer themselves up for dismissal.

Requiring everyone to swear to his purity does not serve to differentiate the good from the bad, because if people are bad enough, they rarely hesitate to add lying to their other vices. So, in order to find out whether a pedagogue is a Communist, there is a strong likelihood that inquiry will be made into his opinions, his private activities, and his nonacademic associations.

Of course when teachers feel that risk to be imminent, they may seek personal security through academic sterility, with heavy loss to the community. "Any teacher worth his salt or his salary," Irwin Edman once wrote, "believes in working toward a better world. On what else is teaching based but on a faith that through the education of the young the world may indeed be a better one in the next generation. . . . It would be deplorable if suspicion of propaganda should lead to suspicion of critical intelligence, the very nerve center of a democratic society."

The Communist professor, it is pertinent to recall, is only one among many teachers; only one among all the influences—home, church, community, and all the others—that help to shape a student's outlook on life. His Communist ideas, even if fully communicated to his students, comprise only a small part of the great mass of recorded thought, experience, and idealism that are the building materials of organized education. How can it be supposed that the

Communist and the philosophy he espouses are so influential and effective that they overshadow all the rest?

SURELY there is a measure of unreality in behaving as though the Communists, who have been notably unsuccessful in winning the minds of American youth or of any other numerous group in this country, are so powerfully persuasive that we must push the academic world into turmoil while assuring ourselves that none of the scoundrels survive. In fact, after the turmoil has died down, we usually discover that there were few, if any, Communists in the teaching ranks in the first place. The oaths and inquisitions and contract clauses with which the Communists were to be confounded, we then learn, have merely disturbed, distracted, and sometimes intimidated a number of people who might better have been left alone to continue their academic labors.

It may be argued that contemporary dangers are so pressing that the democratic community cannot gamble on the wholeheartedness of its teachers, and must therefore risk a few collateral casualties in order to extirpate the Reds. But only times of crisis test the American principles of fairness, wisdom, and freedom. If they are not valid then, they have little substance.

Moreover if they are honored only in periods of calm and comfort, they

are unlikely to have much of a future. The world, one hopes, will someday return to its usual placidity. If normality must be awaited before teachers are to be assured their traditional freedom—a freedom limited by professional standards rather than by associative political tests—the old tradition is not likely to survive the long delay. A newer tradition symbolized by the censorious eye of such bodies as the California Committee on Un-American Activities may supplant it.

IF THE reason for ousting a suspected Communist from a teach-

ing post is that he behaves improperly because he is a Communist, the improper behavior ought to be demonstrable rather than merely supposed to exist. When that can be done, the individual should be discharged because he has not fulfilled his obligations rather than because of his known or suspected associations.

Perhaps we would be on sounder ground today if we shared the *New Yorker* editorialist's belief that "teachers should be fired not in blocks of three for political wrongness, but in blocks of one for unfitness."

FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE SCHOLAR

Two hundred and fifty years ago this month "An Act for Liberty to Erect a Collegiate School" was adopted by the Colonial Legislature of Connecticut. Although actual instruction did not begin until the following year, and the institution did not receive the name of Yale College until 1718 in recognition of Governor Elihu Yale's gift of 562 English pounds, Yale's spirit of liberty has stood the test of years. It has greatly enriched our American culture and has contributed much to free men's search for truth.

At the anniversary commencement in June, Yale University honored many distinguished Americans. One of them was Edward Chace Tolman. As an editorial in *The New York Times* of June 12, 1951, significantly observed: "Dr. Tolman was for thirty-two years a teacher of psychology at the University of California. He was separated from that post, at least temporarily, because he was one of a small group who held that their dignity as scholars forbade them to sign a non-Communist oath as a prerequisite for further employment. In view of the fact that Dr. Tolman has displayed no sympathy whatever with Communism, his act might appear quixotic. It showed, however, a courage that caught the imagination of those who recommend men for honors at Yale commencements. Dr. Tolman was cited yesterday as 'a valiant defender of the freedom of the mind.'"

"Generation follows generation and courses and objectives of study change, but one judges that what Yale University meant to say yesterday was that the voice of the scholar's private conscience must be respected now as it was 250 years ago."

—From a *New York Times* editorial, June 12, 1951. Used by permission.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES IN MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

By ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, *Ph.D.*, *Goldwin Smith Professor of Government at Cornell University, and director of Cornell Research in Civil Liberties.*

IT IS no easy task to take off a balance sheet for 1951 from our national civil liberties ledger that will show accurately the gains and losses we have sustained. We congratulate ourselves that we fought World War II without the crude and brutal attacks on freedom of speech and press of which we were guilty in World War I, only to find that we are busily engaged in abridging these basic liberties by postwar policies and procedures so subtle and sophisticated that many citizens do not recognize their danger. One may, nevertheless, pause at mid-century to list some of our more important civil liberty gains.

Gains in Civil Liberty

A far-reaching and lasting gain resulted from a revolutionary Supreme Court decision of twenty-five years ago. In *Gitlow vs. People of New York* the Court held that the "liberty" which the Fourteenth Amendment forbids the states to deny without due process of law includes the freedom of press protected by the First Amendment from Congressional abridgment. Later cases held

that this "liberty" also includes freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion. The importance of this doctrine can hardly be exaggerated. It placed the states of the Union under federal judicial discipline with regard to their dealing with these basic democratic freedoms, freedoms against which the states had been our chief offenders.

In the second place, the courts have given us an impressive body of precedents, doctrines, and rules that clarify and protect freedom of speech and press. The doctrine of "clear and present danger" has become an accepted judicial measuring rod in free speech and free press cases. While the members of the Supreme Court may not at any given time agree upon the exact meaning and application of the "clear and present danger" test, there is no doubt that in the penumbra of judicial consciousness it stands as a sort of "rule of reason" under which arbitrary legislative or administrative attacks upon freedom of speech and press may be stricken down. Here also may be mentioned the recent judicial doctrine, em-

(Continued on page 18)

"WHERE REASON IS LEFT FREE"

SOCIAL PROGRESS joins *Crossroads* this month to supply additional resources for the study of democracy's multiple struggle with Communism. Every devout Christian who is informed on the philosophy and practice of Marxian Communism in its Stalinist version recognizes the great gulf fixed between the two systems. The Christian Church has the greatest stake in this world conflict of the soul of man for a living faith in God, the Everlasting Father, and man, the infinitely precious brother. The Christian believes that God alone is totalitarian—that man must love him with his whole heart, soul, mind, and strength. He therefore rejects all totalitarianism of man as blasphemous. For this reason, Christians do not toss about the charge or lightly regard the accusation, "*Fellow traveler*," "*Pinko*," "*Communist*." Christians rebuke the unfounded use of such evil condemnation. The General Assembly of 1951 admonished the Church against countenancing "character assassination which clearly violates the divine law, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.'" Our Lord warned his followers against irresponsible judgment, saying, "Whosoever shall say, 'Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.'" The *Crossroads* article "Christianity Confronts Communism" presents some critical features of our struggle with this materialistic faith.

SOCIAL PROGRESS in this issue brings you three important, scholarly articles on the loyalty measures taken or advocated in the United States to defend our nation from enemies within. Totalitarianism—both "black" and "red"—the destroyer of freedom at home, is the foe of freedom everywhere.

Our gravest danger in America lies in the possibility that free men will be frightened by the dark visage of totalitarian power into overwhelming armament programs and security measures that will "overwhelm" liberty in America and the world. This trend has been clearly seen and steadily opposed by the General Assembly pronouncements. The danger that unreasoning fear would lead us to a betrayal of principle was warned against in the pronouncements of the General Assembly of 1949, opposing any military alliance with Franco Spain: "We call upon our people and Government to form no military alliance with, or give aid or comfort to, the present regime of Spain, inasmuch as such action would betray our devotion to civil liberty and freedom of worship, and would ally us with the establishment of Fascist bondage upon the freedom-loving people of Spain."

to Faith

Those deeply concerned with the conflict of Christianity and Communism will give due attention to the serious threat to freedom from irresponsible attacks made to crush the thinking and speaking of those who love the truth that makes men free. The first section of Chapter II of the new study book, *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*, offers important guidance.

It is for the Christian who fights "not as one that beateth the air" to maintain a saving faith and saneness in our conflict with Communism. Only if faith and sanity are maintained will America endure as a land where "reason is left free" to combat error of opinion (Jefferson).

"THE SOIL OF GREATNESS"

THE frequent lament that today our country lacks great leaders such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, is often followed by the sound comment that America also needs a great people. For it is true that great leaders do not rise from a spiritually and morally sterile society. If integrity is lacking in high places, it is likely to be absent from the humble stations. The unworthy leader dwells "in the midst of a people of unclean lips." The place reform must take hold is with the people, where all movements find their strength. The wise farmer improves his land instead of cursing his crop when it is thin. Our Lord spoke of seeds "scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away." So "we, the people" must enrich our souls by prayer, study, discussion, and action on the great issues of faith and life confronting our generation.

Study groups planning to use *Let Us Live for God and the Nations* in response to General Assembly's "Call" have in store a greatly rewarding experience, but also an exacting one. Those unwilling to give up some television and radio programs to face these issues of Christian faith and world order should not join the enterprise. This is no short course to easy living. Let us pray that those who refuse to dig into these matters now will not have their reward when their sons dig into foxholes later! We have earnestly tried in this book to prepare a strong and useful instrument that will not break in the hands of Christians who undertake the service of God in international affairs. It is conceived in the faith that there are many who will welcome this aid to responsible Christian action.

—Paul Newton Poling

American Civil Liberties

(Continued from page 15)

bodied in several Supreme Court opinions, that the liberties protected by the First Amendment—freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion—enjoy a preferred status in our scheme of constitutional values, so that a legislative act which on its face appears to abridge any one of these liberties will be presumed to be unconstitutional, and the burden of proof will fall on those who defend it to convince the Court that it is justified by some clear and present danger to the national security.

In the third place, the Supreme Court has clarified and protected religious liberty. The aggressive fanaticism of the Jehovah's Witnesses has brought to the Court some thirty cases involving a wide variety of governmental restrictions upon religious activity, and they have won most of those cases. As a result, it is now well settled that Government in this country must leave religion alone. In so doing, it firmly established the rule of the complete separation of Church and State.

A fourth cluster of civil liberty gains has come from the work of the Civil Rights Section in the Department of Justice. Set up in 1939, this group has devoted its energy to the enforcement of the peonage laws, the laws protecting citizens in their right to vote for Federal officers, and laws punishing such crimes as police brutality or official participation in

lynchings. With inadequate funds and personnel, the section has been able to do much less than needs to be done in this field; but its very existence, together with the possibility of its adequate support and increased effectiveness, is a most encouraging sign.

In the fifth place, impressive gains have been made in securing the rights of the American Negro. With the judicial banning of the notorious "white primary" in the South, along with other less direct methods of Negro disfranchisement, the Southern Negro enjoys today greater political influence through the ballot than ever before. Led by the State of New York with its rigorous antidiscrimination statute, about a dozen states in the North have adopted policies forbidding racial and religious discrimination in private employment.

The Supreme Court decisions of two years ago in the Negro covenant cases, holding that the courts may not validly enforce racially discriminatory covenants restricting the sale or lease of land, struck an effective blow at this form of private racial discrimination. Although the change will not come about all at once, it seems clear that racial segregation in the armed forces is on its way out.

Finally, as evidenced by the Texas and Oklahoma university cases, and the dining car case of last June, the Supreme Court is becoming increasingly tough in insisting that when

Negroes and whites are segregated by law they must be given separate accommodations that are in fact equal. It is encouraging that in the South, state-supported universities, and graduate and professional schools, are beginning to admit Negro students without waiting for an individual court decision in each case compelling them to do so.

We may regard with satisfaction and hope the interest shown by the United Nations in the problems of human rights. The movement to secure the adoption of a Declaration of Human Rights and a Covenant of Human Rights is of major importance, even if the progress toward these goals is slow and hesitating.

Losses in Civil Liberty

On the debit side of the national civil liberty ledger one must list a number of familiar and persistent denials of civil liberty, together with a number of new threats and dangers that have arisen out of the cold war and our almost pathological fear of Communism.

In the first place, it is obvious that in spite of the recent improvements in his status, the American Negro today still enjoys only a second-class citizenship. In many parts of the country the rights that he enjoys on paper he does not enjoy in fact, since a hostile community attitude discourages him from trying to assert these rights. It is still sound judicial doctrine that the segregation of Negroes

and whites in the enjoyment of public and semipublic services and accommodations is constitutional as long as the two races are given equal, or something approaching equal, treatment under that segregation. To our national shame, the city of Washington, the capital of the greatest democratic nation in the world, remains a Jim Crow city, although Congress, if it wished, could abolish Negro segregation there tomorrow.

Our Federal laws still permit an extensive and highly discretionary censorship by the Postmaster General over published matter passing through the mails, and while there have been no very recent abuses of this broad power, it stands as a steadily impending threat to the freedom of the press. And in spite of some recent liberal judicial decisions, many American communities suffer from a rigid and bigoted censorship of books, magazines, and motion pictures.

There are, no doubt, other scattered items that belong on the debit side of our civil liberty ledger, but the most serious threats to American civil liberty today stem from our nation-wide and rapidly accelerating drive against Communism and other forms of disloyalty and subversion. These threats deserve careful analysis, for it is clear that they arise, not because the basic objectives of Government in this field are unwise or objectionable, but because many of the policies, standards, and proce-

dures used to combat Communism and disloyalty have not been wisely chosen or fairly applied.

The present campaign against Communism utilizes four major methods or techniques. The first is the legislative investigating committee, such as the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or the Tenney Committee in California. Secondly, there are the loyalty programs, Federal, state, and local, which undertake to exclude Communists and other disloyal persons from the Government payrolls. Thirdly, there are the loyalty oath requirements, operating on many levels, that require Government employees, teachers, labor union executives, and others to swear that they are not Communists or otherwise subversive. Finally, there is the recent crop of legislation highlighted by the McCarran Act, which seeks to deal directly with Communists as such by making them register and imposing various penalties and disabilities upon them. Without describing in detail these methods of combating Communism, I should like to point out a number of grave threats to civil liberty that have arisen from them.

Threat from Legislative Investigation

First, serious violations of civil liberty result from the exercise by legislative committees of the power to ferret out and publicize the alleged disloyalty or subversive conduct of

individuals. The long and honorable record made by some of our notable Congressional investigating committees is well known. It will be remembered that the Teapot Dome oil scandal in the early 1920's was uncovered, not by the Department of Justice, but by the Senate Committee on Public Lands. It is also clear that our legislative committees on un-American activities have often behaved much worse than legislative committees need to behave, and that their procedures have frequently been very bad. My criticism cuts much deeper than any of this.

In exposing the disloyalty of individual persons these committees are trying to do a job for which a legislative committee, no matter how good it is, is inherently unfitted, and in the doing of which civil liberties will almost inevitably be destroyed. From the beginning, exposure has been one of the major purposes of these committees. In 1938 Congressman Martin Dies declared, "Exposure in a democracy of subversive activities is the most effective weapon we have in our possession." But to expose an individual, either a Government employee or a private citizen, by leveling against him in the newspapers accusations of disloyalty is to convict him in the public mind of treasonable conduct, and thereby to destroy his reputation beyond any hope of recovery. He has not been convicted of crime in a technical sense, but he stands branded before

the world as a disloyal if not traitorous person, he will almost certainly be dismissed from the job he holds, and he is likely to be barred from employment in the future. He becomes a pariah; and to say that he has not been punished for crime by a legislative, and therefore political, body is to quibble with words.

There is expert testimony to support the criticism that I am making. After completing last summer the task of reviewing the charges of disloyalty made by Senator McCarthy against the State Department, the majority of the Tydings Committee urged that the President appoint a commission "in the nature of a Hoover Commission" to investigate the entire loyalty program, because, as the committee put it, "human nature being what it is, particularly in an election year, some Americans may question the findings of any investigative body that may have any degree of political complexion, as of course is true of any Congressional committee."

Senator Lodge, a minority member of the committee, and one who did not agree with its major findings, urged even more strongly and at much greater length:

"A partisan Congressional committee is the most inadequate and inappropriate tool for conducting an investigation of this kind. . . . To get another committee to take up this investigation is to miss the point, since any or all Congressional commit-

tees would have the same handicap."

Years ago our forefathers wrote into the Constitution a blunt prohibition against bills of attainder, which are legislative convictions for crime. They realized what some of our legislatures appear to have forgotten, that the guilt or innocence of an accused person must be determined, not by politicians and partisans, but by judges.

Threat from State and Local Measures

A second serious threat to civil liberty comes from the rapidly increasing participation of our state and local Governments in the current drive against Communism. The states are busily engaged in setting up policies and machinery to deal with Communists. There are at present more than three hundred state statutes dealing with subversive activity. These laws are passed, not because they are needed to protect the internal security of the states, but because their passage is now demanded as evidence of the patriotism of the lawmakers; the tougher the law, the greater the patriotism. Maryland's famous Ober Act defines and forbids subversive conduct and punishes those who violate its criminal sections by the loss of all political rights, \$20,000 fine, and twenty years in prison. Tennessee, by a recent statute, punishes the advocacy of the overthrow of government by force and violence by the death penalty.

But this is not all. Some 150 cities and several counties have enacted measures against Communism. Birmingham, Alabama, required Communists to leave the city within forty-eight hours and imposed a penalty of \$100 fine and 180 days in jail for each day they remained unlawfully in town. Cumberland, Maryland, required the registration of Communists, and "watchdog committees" were organized in the city and surrounding neighborhood to track down Communists. McKeesport, Pennsylvania, passed a Communist registration ordinance. While it was being discussed by the city council, two Communists appeared to protest against its passage. One was put in jail for disorderly conduct, and the other escorted to the city line and told never to return. Said the mayor: "We are going to treat Communism in McKeesport just as Americans would be treated in Moscow if they violated the Russian laws." In Pittsburgh, three Communists were arrested on a charge of sedition and the party headquarters were padlocked. The Birmingham and Cumberland ordinances have been declared unconstitutional, and some of the others seem to be of pretty dubious validity.

One of the disturbing features of many of these local programs is the crude and unintelligent use made by local officials of Federal standards and rules. Under the President's Loyalty Order, membership in an organization listed by the Attorney General

as subversive may be regarded as evidence in determining the loyalty of a Federal employee. Such membership is made the basis of much more drastic and arbitrary penalties and disabilities by states and municipalities. The school authorities in Washington, D.C., recently refused to allow Pearl Buck to speak in a local high school because her name was found in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Threat from Loyalty Programs

A third serious threat to civil liberty comes from the establishment and enforcement of private loyalty programs and loyalty tests. Private clubs, societies, professions, and institutions, in mounting numbers, are requiring their members to take oaths affirming their loyalty and forswearing Communist or other subversive affiliations. Expulsion is visited upon those who do not or cannot comply. The Columbia Broadcasting System has set up such a requirement for its employees.

Experience so far fails to show any relation between these private oath requirements and the internal security. In fact, it is hard to find any evidence that loyalty oaths of any kind serve any useful purpose beyond the purging of the emotions of those who set them up. No dangerously subversive character is likely to balk at any oath presented to him. Those caught in the net so far have been the wholly loyal, perhaps mistakenly stubborn,

people who are offended by being asked to take the oath, but who in no way threaten the public security. The bitter irony of the recent loyalty oath controversy at the University of California lies in the fact that the twenty-six professors who were dismissed for their refusal to sign the oath have all been officially absolved of any Communist taint.

A very disquieting aspect of the private enforcement of loyalty standards is the surrender of many large business concerns to the dictates of self-appointed judges of other people's loyalty. We had a notable example of this in the dismissal by the General Foods Corporation of Jean Muir from one of its popular radio programs because the anti-Communist newsletter, *Counterattack*, listed her as a former member of an alleged Communist-front organization. The company did later retreat from this extreme position, but it has not re-employed Miss Muir.

Threat from "Guilt by Association"

A fourth threat to the civil liberties of thousands of patriotic Americans arises from the brutal and ignorant application of the doctrine of guilt by association as a test of loyalty in our present drive against Communism. There is, of course, much truth in the old adage that a man is known by the company he keeps. Public officials charged with the duty of identifying Communists

or other subversives are bound to collect all possible evidence about an individual's associations and conduct. All this, however, need involve nothing more than the discreet and honest use of facts and the drawing from them of reasonable inferences.

This is not what I am talking about in using the term "guilt by association." What I do have in mind is the complete conviction with which loyalty boards and legislative investigating committees assume that a Communist is somehow afflicted with a sort of contagion which inevitably infects all persons who come in contact with him or share any of his ideas, even though they are not his Communistic ideas.

Oddly enough, it is only the Communist in whom this powerful and all-pervading virus is thought to exist. Republicans and Democrats may safely associate with each other without fear of mutual political contamination. But let a man belong to an organization in which there turn out to be some Communists, let him sign a petition favoring some public policy which also draws Communist support, let him be found to have contributed during the war to Russian relief, or to have expressed sympathy with the Spanish Republicans, and he at once becomes a leper. He is a fellow traveler, a dangerous fellow seeking to bring about the establishment of Communism in this country.

The absurdity of all this was ef-

fectively summed up by Robert Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, in his testimony before the Broyles Committee in Illinois in 1949. He said:

"One who criticizes the foreign policy of the United States, or the draft, or the Atlantic Pact, or who believes that our military establishment is too expensive, can be called a fellow traveler, for the Russians are of the same opinion. One who thinks there are too many slums and too much lynching in America can be called a fellow traveler, for the Russians say the same. One who opposes racial discrimination or the Ku-Klux Klan can be called a fellow traveler, for the Russians claim that they ought to be opposed. Anybody who wants any change of any kind in this country can be called a fellow traveler, because the Russians want change in this country too."

The California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities appears to have developed and applied a sort of bilateral doctrine of guilt by association. In his forthcoming book on the Tenney Committee, Professor Edward L. Barrett, of the University of California Law Faculty, states:

"Individuals were found to be communist sympathizers because they belonged to a number of organizations termed 'communist fronts.' And the organizations were found to be communist fronts because the individuals were connected with them. Such circular reasoning created an

ever-increasing group of individuals who could be listed because of their membership in organizations and an ever-increasing group of organizations which could be listed because these individuals belonged to them."

Three Dangers Loom

There are three dangers which result from the way in which we are currently applying this doctrine of guilt by association. The first and most obvious of these lies in the injustice which it works upon the honest and patriotic liberal who finds himself branded as disloyal because of associations innocently entered into in the past. These rise up like long-buried skeletons to destroy his reputation and to cost him his job.

The second danger from guilt by association is that it bullies thousands of men and women of good will into refraining from freely and normally supporting various social and humanitarian causes because Communists make it their fixed policy to support these same causes.

In the third place, guilt by association actually jeopardizes the national security, ironical as that may seem. It does so by hopelessly confusing the public mind on the matter of who is and who is not disloyal. Some of the most distinguished, patriotic, and useful men and women in American public life have been branded as fellow travelers or Communist sympathizers on the flimsy ground that at some stage of their careers they be-

longed to organizations now labeled "Communist front." How can the ordinary citizen avoid being puzzled by all this? If we persist in confusing honest liberals with Communists and traitors, we are in danger of destroying the civil liberties of the former, while we jeopardize our safety by failing to identify the latter.

* Threat from Ban on Criticism

There is a rather frightening refinement of this doctrine of guilt by association which constitutes a fifth menace to civil liberty in the present anti-Communist drive. This is the idea, fast acquiring official sanction and support, that it is disloyal or subversive to criticize or attack either the Government's program for dealing with subversion or the official agencies that are administering it. The committees on un-American activities have been peculiarly sensitive to criticism and resentful of it. Congressman J. Parnell Thomas back in the early days of the Dies Committee stated very bluntly that anyone who criticized the committee was "un-American"; and the Tenney Committee in California declared that "the minions

of Hitler and Stalin are the ones who want our committee killed." We find some of the loyalty boards in Washington asking the question about an accused employee, "Is he critical of the loyalty program?" It is needless to dwell upon the shocking implications of a doctrine that makes it an evidence of disloyalty to criticize publicly the policies of Government.

The 1951 balance sheet of our civil liberties is rather disturbing. We seem to be moving into the red. The emotional climate in which we are forced to make decisions that affect our civil liberties is abnormal. American public opinion has become diseased with regard to the whole problem presented by Communism and disloyalty. We seem to have lost our collective capacity for calm and wise reflection upon matters that call for the wisest of statesmanship.

I do not believe that civil liberty in this country can long survive without a continuing determination on the part of the American people to preserve it. A very heavy responsibility rests upon every individual and every organization capable of exerting any influence to help to keep that determination alive.

This article is reprinted by permission of the author and the editors from THE ANNALS, May, 1951, American Academy of Political and Social Science. This issue of THE ANNALS presents a comprehensive and scholarly analysis of the threats to civil liberties in the United States and deals with legislative and political aspects of the problem. It describes the organizations promoting civil rights and their efforts to keep our freedom unsullied.

Sanctuary

THE FAMILY OF GOD ON EARTH

Introit:

Let us worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness; let us enter into his courts with thanksgiving, and into his gates with praise. •

Call to Worship:

Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

Invocation:

Thou God above all gods, the earth is thine and all they that dwell therein. In thy holy presence make us aware of our needs, turn us in penitence from our sins, and lead us by thy grace toward thy everlasting reign of peace on earth and good will toward men. In the name of Christ our Lord. Amen.

Suggested Hymn: "When Wilt Thou Save the People?"

Scripture: Isaiah, ch. 55.

Prayer:

Unto thee, God and Father of the Lord Jesus, we lift our voices in adoration. Thou art high and lifted up above the clamor and disputes which surround us. Thy train fills the temple of earth and heaven, and thy glory is from everlasting to everlasting. We acknowledge our constant need for thee, and our greater need for thee at this hour.

We have set ourselves against thee and against our brothers; we have forsaken humility for pride; we have exalted the works of our own hands and the thoughts of our own minds. Our ears have been deafened to the cries of our common humanity and our hearts have been closed to compassion. We have subordinated thy gospel to lesser concerns and evil desires, and have compromised thy high demands for worldly aims.

We who have separated ourselves from thee are separated from one another. Nation is divided against nation, race against race, and class against class, and within our souls is conflict.

Receive our confession, thou Lord of all being, and heal us by thy divine forgiveness, that by thy grace we may be reconciled to thee and to all men everywhere, that Christ may rule in our hearts by faith, and thy Kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven. Amen.

Meditation:

Two things are crystal-clear in the self-disclosure of God in Christ: first, the sovereignty of the Father; secondly, the unity of mankind under his providence.

In all that Jesus taught, backed by his life, and signed and sealed by his death, his followers are called upon to adore God and to serve the neighbor.

Refusal to accept these basic truths is at the bottom of all our complicated issues. Primarily it comes from that deep-seated tendency to self-assertion which religion recognizes as the original sin. This tendency, rising from our God-given freedom, destroys all freedom if we accept it as part of our nature. This drive of the ego, and of self-assertion of ingrown groups, is at the heart of our emotional and mental disorders, and of all destructive conflicts whether in neighborhoods, nations, or on the world scale.

Recognizing in ourselves this tendency against God, there are three things we may do about it. We must boast of it, and give our egos a yet freer reign in an unashamed pride of power. Or we may yield to it reluctantly, excusing our sinfulness in the self-pity of fatalism. Or we may, relying upon the divine grace, turn in penitence away from destructive evil toward creative good.

To boast of sinfulness is diabolic. To make lame excuses under an acceptance of tragic necessity is infidelity. To limit our own freedom, granted by God, to a mere choice between two evils, is a rejection of the good and of God himself.

For our own souls' sake, and for the sake of our broken world, we need a new up-rush of faith to meet the offered grace of God. Our attitudes and philosophies of fatalism, cynicism, futility, and despair are not Christian, and they are not new. Jesus dealt with them in every life he touched, and expelled them with the gift of faith. The Church through the ages has refused to believe in the supremacy of evil over good, whatever the circumstances.

Faith is not a mere assent in theory to the revealed will of the Father; it is an active, energetic, and creative power which unites all parts of our persons around the center of adoration of the Father and service to our fellow men.

For the greatest commandment is this: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

Hymn: "Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun."

Benediction:

And now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and honor, dominion and power, both now and forever. Amen.

—*Prepared by George M. Gibson, professor of homiletics, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois.*

CHRISTIAN *Action*

United Nations Week, October 21-27, 1951

What will your church do during United Nations Week to help Presbyterians to reaffirm their faith in the United Nations which our General Assembly has declared to be "our main instrument for peace"?

1. A special service of worship on World Order Sunday, October 21, and on United Nations Day, Wednesday, October 24—including sermons, panel discussions, literature displays about the UN and our Church's concern for world order.

2. A period of prayer for the peace of the world to be observed in all homes.

3. The launching of your church's participation in General Assembly's call to study and action for peace. Men's groups, women's associations, couples' clubs, young people in the church

school and Westminster Fellowship all have an important part in this project.

4. Showings of UN films and filmstrips to introduce discussion and study of the UN, how it works, and what it has accomplished.

5. UN information in your church bulletin, including little-known facts about the UN specialized agencies.

6. Displays of UN posters, flags, and literature in your parish house.

7. UN family night dinner, featuring music, folk songs, games, customs of other countries, UN films.

How many of these United Nations Week activities are you helping to plan and sponsor with other churches and civic groups in your community?

1. Information booths at central locations to answer questions and to distribute literature about the UN. Churches can supply and train groups of volunteers to staff these booths.

2. Exhibits at libraries and museums of stamps, flags, or coins of UN member nations, doll collections, posters, literature, books and periodicals from other countries, charts and photos showing work of the Specialized Agencies of the UN.

3. UN displays in banks and department store windows that help to publicize the relief and rehabilitation work of such groups as Church World Service, American Relief for Korea, CARE, the Christian Rural Overseas Pro-

gram (CROP), and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

4. Special feature stories in local newspapers about UN agencies, with particular emphasis on UN's technical assistance program in underdeveloped countries. Letters to the editor from churchmen. Urge your local editors to write UN Department of Public Information, UN headquarters, 405 East 42d Street, New York, N. Y., for free news releases, mats.

5. Series of radio broadcasts and TV programs, spot announcements about the UN. Radio scripts and transcriptions are available from UN headquarters (above address). Churches can help to publicize these programs and build appreciative radio audiences.

6. A minute of silence and prayer to be observed by the entire community for the success of the United Nations.

Be sure to consult the chairman of

social education and action of your presbytery and the secretary of social education and action of your presbytery for program suggestions and literature.

Christian Citizenship

How Intelligently Will Your Church Members Vote?

The coming November elections emphasize the privileges of American citizenship—rights and freedoms which every Christian must exercise to the fullest and jealously guard. When the rights of free men do not exist in vast sections of the world, citizens in the United States have sober responsibilities indeed!

Every citizen should: register; arrange for an absentee ballot, if necessary; know where candidates stand on issues vital to democracy; persuade other people to vote; help other people to understand the issues; and, finally, every citizen must vote, rain or shine.

Every Presbyterian church ought to encourage every member of voting age to register and vote and also to take active part in the political party of his choice. Every church should be able to direct its members to correct, unbiased information about all candidates for election.

What Your Church Can Do

1. Make election information available to the members. From your local Board of Elections you can obtain: supplies of sample ballots, legal requirements for voting, absentee ballots, if your state permits their use, information regarding registration and polling hours and polling places.

2. Co-operate with the state or local League of Women Voters. The League of Women Voters collects information about the background of each political candidate, compiles their answers to questions related to election issues, and makes such data available in printed or mimeographed form on a non-partisan basis. It will also supply information on party platforms and answer questions about election procedures and laws.

3. Plan for counsel for young men and women who have just reached voting age, and for new citizens (D.P. families, for example).

4. Join with other churches and community groups in holding pre-election meetings to discuss local and world issues and interview local candidates. Such meetings are necessary for two reasons: (a) to inform church members on where these candidates stand on issues vital to democracy; (b) to inform candidates of the concern of church members.

5. Urge your church's committee on social education and action to interview candidates. Or if they are running for re-election, get their record in office from the local League of Women Voters. The committee might also attend meetings where candidates are speaking, and ask them pertinent questions.

As candidates are interviewed or questioned, it is important to remind them that the eyes of the world are upon the United States. The candidates' attitudes on domestic issues have far-reaching effects on world affairs.

About Books

© **The Christian in Politics**, by Jerry Voorhis. Association Press. \$1.75.

"I cannot say that I was a 'Christian politician.' I can say that I tried to be. As one of the 435 members of the House I tried to influence the course of our country toward what seemed to me to be Christian goals. As I look back over the record, I confess that in those efforts I failed at least as often as I succeeded."

This modest and forthright statement from Jerry Voorhis, former Congressman from California, will give readers some idea of what to expect in this practical handbook for Christian political action.

In sixteen brief chapters of clear and incisive language, Voorhis reviews the social influence of Christianity from Eden to Hiroshima, demonstrates how democracy and Christianity are inextricably bound together; then sets forth the practical problems inherent in a Christian's active participation in the political affairs of our country.

Accepting politics as the *duty* of Christian men and women, the writer asks such questions as these: Are there Christian political issues? Shall I run for political office? What does it take to win elections? But what is right? Examples of political issues which no conscientious Christian can avoid are those of unemployment and the predicament of old age, of soil conservation and adequate housing, of vice and crime, of simple honesty in government, of war and peace.

To all of this Voorhis gives answer by stating his belief that there are three basic Christian principles upon which a whole Christian political program can be built. He cites first the principle of human

brotherhood. The second principle is that of voluntary mutual aid among people. Finally, the writer urges the right use of the gifts of God. "Whenever there is waste or destruction of something which he intended as a blessing to mankind, a sin is committed. Whenever there is exploitation of a human life or a human talent, there is sin. Whatever measure, political or otherwise, will bring about right use of the gifts of God according to his intent is Christian."

Being a practical politician, Voorhis gives good advice to the political aspirant. After warning him of the tremendous sacrifice to be endured not only by a candidate for public office but also by all members of his household, he urges that Christian influence be exerted first of all in matters of local concern. The Christian should begin with local school boards, local councils, state legislatures; for the writer insists that here is the greatest opportunity for Christian principles. And after pointing out the pitfalls to be avoided, he returns to his initial thesis, that the people must have a faith by which to live, and that faith is the spark plug of Christian political endeavor.

Here is a book whose motivation alone should demand the attention of every intelligent Christian, for it is Voorhis' firm belief that "where in my time I failed, others with greater wisdom and ability may in their time succeed. I am writing . . . because I know they *must* succeed. Most of all, I am writing it in the hope that when, in the days ahead, devoted Christians do decide to enter upon political careers they will not have to work alone. I hope a reading of this book may

lead at least some of the nation's 60,000,000 Christians to really help them."

—Harry William Pedicord

Germany and the Future of Europe, edited by Jans J. Morgenthau. University of Chicago Press. \$3.50.

This book contains the fourteen lectures delivered under the Harris Foundation at the University of Chicago in the spring of 1950. The preface by the editor states that "the German problem presents itself to the Western world in three different facets—to prevent the resurgence of German imperialism, to restore Germany to political and economic health, and to deny German resources and allegiance to the Soviet Union."

Independent experts and foremost scholars from all over the country gave their views of Germany and dealt with a great variety of topics: the government of Eastern Germany, the labor movement, Germany and world peace, Germany in Europe. They carefully covered the economic field, political problems, German family patterns, and social strata.

Under the topic "Germany and Western Civilization," Reinhold Niebuhr states that "Germany is still a risk," but one the Western world is forced to accept. He contends that "if we recognize the primacy of moral, political, and economic factors in our struggle with Communism, we will make it our business to bring economic health to that country and to restore her to a place in our economy."

Calvin B. Hoover finds in the Shuman Plan a hopeful outlook. He feels that even without the revival of trade with countries behind the Iron Curtain, there is hope. But in each lecture there is a sense of the real situation, a feeling that the speaker is "discussing the possibility of placing the engines of a ship in good repair while she is driving toward a rocky coast."

Franz Neuman finds it "difficult to expect a viable Socialist or trade-union

movement in Germany." After a long listing of mistakes, in both world wars, at Potsdam, and at Yalta, James P. Warburg asserts, under the topic "Germany and World Peace," that "the future is not without considerable hope. . . . We need to take a new look at the kind of Germany we have been helping to create . . . and even more to re-examine the kind of world we have been helping to create."

This review can, of course, only offer a sampling. The book deals competently with essentials. The experts present the sort of facts without which one has no right to opinions.

—John C. White

The Church and Healing, by Carl J. Scherzer. The Westminster Press. \$4.00.

If it is true, and I believe it is, that one will not find God without until he has first found him within, then the inner state of man is of supreme importance. Jesus knew better than all others the intimate relationship between body and mind, between physical health and psychic health, and the interplay one upon the other.

The Church, charged with the continuing ministry of Christ upon earth, has felt, sometimes more, but more often less, a responsibility for carrying on the healing work that occupied so much attention in the ministry of our Lord.

Faith healing and church clinics have not always enjoyed favorable reaction from clergymen, psychologists, physicians, or even laymen. Criticism is inevitable, but because of it many feel that the main ecclesiastical streams ought not to abdicate healing ministry to the cults.

In the words of the author, "the purpose of this book is to present a readable, comprehensive study of the influence of our Lord's Spirit as it expressed itself in a ministry of healing through his Church, and to show that his spirit of compassion for the sick and suffering is living in the world today."

The author is chaplain of the Protestant Deaconess Hospital in Evansville, Indiana. In this book he traces the healing movement within the Church from apostolic times through the medieval period, the Reformation, Counter Reformation, down to modern times. Such important developments as Christian Science, New Thought and Unity, the Emmanuel Movement, medical missions, as well as the efforts of individuals like Glenn Clarke and John Gayner Banks of San Diego are elaborated upon.

Since 1923 when the Commission on Religion and Health, now part of the National Council of Churches, got under way, tremendous strides have been made in this field. The need for much closer co-operation and understanding between the Church, medicine, and psychiatry goes without saying.

Here is a book that includes what every informed person should know about the Church and healing. The fact that Russell L. Dicks has written the foreword, bespeaks the soundness of Mr. Scherzer's handling of a difficult subject.

—Whitney M. Trousdale

Christianity on the Frontier, by John A. Mackay. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Here are fourteen essays first presented as addresses to public audiences or as editorials in *Theology Today*. They were written at different times and in diverse circumstances during the last six years.

Dr. Mackay suggests that this collection may be regarded as the third part of an undesigned trilogy. In his *A Preface to Christian Theology* he tried to say, "Leave the Balcony for the Road." His *Heritage and Destiny* sought to embody the thought, "The Road to Tomorrow leads through Yesterday." The burden of *Christianity on the Frontier* is, "Take the Road to the Frontier."

Having read all three of the books, this reviewer agrees with Dr. Mackay's sugges-

tion. The main theme running through all the essays is that the Christian Church and all Christians are called today to live a "frontier" life. The author suggests three—the political, the cultural, and the missionary frontier.

The major task of the Church today is to make the Bible known, calling upon the Holy Spirit to guide and use the proclamation of the evangel. Preaching must be Christocentric if it is to penetrate. The Church must live a pilgrim life upon the road of God's unfolding purpose.

It is the Church's duty to sensitize the conscience of a nation. "The Christian Church, to be true to its nature and mission . . . must work for an orchestral expression of social life. No person must suffer ostracism or any form of disability because of the color of his skin."

The longest essay deals with Protestantism, both as a historic movement and as a contemporary force. You will look long to find a better statement in forty pages. It is thrilling and bracing reading. Two chapters deal with Latin America, giving a clear statement on the problems of religious liberty.

Pastors will find here stimulating and inspiring material for sermons, and lay readers will find this book helpful reading and a clear statement of the task of the Church in the world of today and tomorrow.

—Gordon W. Mattice



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"I HATE CONTROLS, BUT WE NEED THEM NOW"

By CHARLES E. WILSON, *Director of Defense Mobilization.*

WHAT has happened to Charlie Wilson?"

I understand that this question is being asked in some quarters in Washington and elsewhere. It arises from the fact that I urged Congress to re-enact a strong anti-inflation measure, including the power to regulate prices and wages. This position, they say, is contrary to my known hatred of controls—a hatred I have expressed in normal times.

Let me make it clear right at the start that I still hate controls. I am still opposed to controls by the Government in normal times.

But these are not normal times.

Last December when the President declared the existence of a national emergency he asked me to take over the job of Director of Defense Mobilization. I believed, and still believe, that our country is in very great danger. I took the job because I thought it was my duty to do so and certainly not to gratify any personal ambition. Nor did I take it to foist any undue regimen-

tation on this country that the country didn't need or want. When I came into office I felt that the only way to do the job was to carry out whatever, in my opinion, the welfare of the nation as a whole dictated, regardless of whom it might pinch.

ALL my life I have believed in the doctrine of free enterprise, and that means I am opposed to a controlled economy. But the principles of a free economy are for times of peace. Who will dare to say we are now at peace, whatever be the outcome of the truce discussions in Korea? Can anyone divine whether or when the puppeteers of Communism will decide to pull the strings on their minions and send them surging against the free world? Can we afford to go on living under a placid business-as-usual philosophy with a gun pointed at our heads? These are times of great peril to our country, and this chilling realization is brought home to me every day in my present job.

The author left the presidency of the General Electric Company to act as Director of Defense Mobilization. During World War II he served as vice-chairman of the WPB. He is now treasurer of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. This article first appeared in The New York Times Magazine on Sunday, August 26, 1951. It is reprinted in SOCIAL PROGRESS with permission of the author and of The New York Times.

It is that realization which has made this fellow Wilson a pro-controls man—only so long as the present emergency exists. No mysterious alchemy has altered my way of thinking. It is simply this:

First, instead of being a representative of any one industry, or of big business generally, I am now, as Defense Mobilization Director, a representative of all the people—not serving merely one segment or a few segments of the nation, but all.

Secondly, from my vantage point I have access to full and authentic information and get a fuller view of our situation. This brings with it the realization that extraordinary measures are needed to cope with the situation—measures such as price, wage, materials, and credit controls.

WE ARE spending \$50 billion or more a year for three years in our rearmament program. We estimate that military production will cut into the gross national product by about 20 per cent. In the cases of some materials priorities must be established; a plan must be administered. This is being done—by the National Production Authority. This is one form of Government control of industry. I don't like it, but I know it is absolutely necessary in the present circumstances.

Military power depends to a great extent upon the ability of this nation to produce more and better ma-

chines than our potential enemies. And this military production is closely linked with our basic economy in all its interrelated segments. There can be no divorcement between our military strength and our economic strength. The constant thought in my mind, then, since I am charged with the responsibility for building America's might, is that our economic structure not be undermined while we are building our armed forces. What would it profit us to build a mighty military establishment only to have the civilian economy collapse beneath the weight of its armor?

NORMALLY, our lush economy remains more or less in balance because of the natural law of supply and demand. But that natural law is disrupted when we produce guns and tanks and planes instead of autos and refrigerators and washing machines. So, when consumer goods begin to get scarce and people with money in their pockets start bidding up the prices of what goods are available, the situation has in it the seeds of runaway inflation. This inflation could wreck the family budget and bankrupt the nation.

I saw what happened before price and wage controls were invoked. The cost of living had been rising steadily, and we did not yet have large-scale military production. Since we actually put to work the price-and-wage-ceiling provisions of

the Defense Production Act last January 25, the trend of prices has been slightly downward. I am sure in my own mind that those controls played a large part in preventing prices from soaring out of sight. Recently, when it appeared that Congress, perhaps allowing itself to be lulled by the apparent approach of peace in Korea, or perhaps lending a sympathetic ear to powerful and selfish interests, might scuttle the controls program, I could see disaster ahead. I went to bat for the program which I see as our only salvation. And in so doing I became a renegade to the controls haters. What nonsense!

I HAVE been asked many times recently how I can have been so outspoken against controls in 1946 and so vehemently for them in 1951. The point is: I haven't changed; conditions have.

If the same conditions obtained today that obtained in 1946, I would still be heartily against price controls. I simply do not believe in price or wage controls in the kind of economy that existed in 1946. In other words, there was no shooting going on then. But when our security is

threatened as it is today; when we are expending some \$50 billion a year for defense production, as we are today, with all the difficulties attendant upon that program, then I believe that a nation must use price and wage and credit controls to guarantee against runaway inflation.

IN 1946 our military production was sharply tapering off, and we were going all out for an increase in civilian production to fill the tremendous backlog of demand for homes, automobiles, refrigerators, radios, and the like, that had developed during the war. Today the situation is exactly the opposite. We are sharply tapering off civilian production in order to devote these materials to military production. We cannot do so unless we have controls with which to channel our production in the right directions.

Just take a look at the following figures to illustrate the difference between 1946 and 1951. The left-hand column is the gross national product—almost the same as national income—in billions of dollars. The middle column is the amount devoted to defense, in billions of dollars. (All dollars are at

1946		
<i>Production Billions</i>	<i>Defense Billions</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
251	32	12.7
254	23	9.0
255	18	7.0
252	15	5.9

1951		
<i>Production Billions</i>	<i>Defense Billions</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
301	23	7.6
311	31	10.0
313	40	12.7
318	51	16.0

the average 1950 value.) The right-hand column is the percentage of defense expenditures in relation to gross national product.

The figures are given by quarters. Notice that in each quarter of 1946 the defense expenditures sharply decline—and that in 1951 they sharply mount.

NOT long ago somebody said to me: "I hear some of your best friends in big business won't talk to you; they don't know what's got into you. What do you tell them when you meet them?"

And my answer was this: "I hadn't noticed any snubs, but if any of these friends should ask me, I will simply tell them they'd better examine the situation today and compare it with the situation when I too was against controls—say, 1946. And I believe they too would come to the conclusion that we need these controls today."

I must dispute, also, the idea that all businessmen are against me on this matter of controls. I know that there are many who agree with me and that many more would agree if they had the benefit of viewing the situation from my vantage point, where they could see all sides of the matter. Businessmen, as a class, are not economically blind. Many of them are no longer needed.

If I felt that the opposition to a reasonable program of price and wage controls welled from a genuine

fear that it was symptomatic of the birth stirrings of totalitarian dictatorship, I could be more sympathetic to that opposition. Even then I would feel compelled to ask whether these opponents are so dedicated to a tradition of *laissez faire* that they would sacrifice the nation on its altar. For want of a bit of temporary restraint in our pricing system, governmentally decreed and enforced, they would invite the disaster of having the entire economic structure collapse. This is sheer folly—a form of cutting off the nose to spite the face.

SOME oppose controls because they are against anything the Administration is for. They express amazement that I, a Republican, could go along with the Administration on this matter. I sit in wonderment at such partisanship that would sacrifice the country because of dislike for the Administration.

The most unpleasant aspect of the fight against the controls program has to do with greed and selfishness and high pressure by powerful groups. Lobbies of all kinds have been at work either to kill controls completely or else to wring the law to their own particular advantage. They don't object to controls—for the other fellow. None will accept graciously the thought of sacrificing any part of his own substance for the common welfare. An awareness of all this grasping for advantage

out of emergency-born opportunity helped me to an even firmer conviction that my stand on controls was a proper one.

Price controls would not deny to these groups their fair and reasonable profits. In fact, the pricing systems are worked out with the advice and assistance of representatives of various producing groups so as to give them a fair return for their investment or labor. The shameful picture was one of pressure groups not accepting a fair slice out of the nation's pocketbook but insisting upon inordinate profit.

Such callous indifference to the welfare of the nation and concern only for the pocketbook are particularly revolting when compared with sacrifices that have been made elsewhere in human life and limb. The Government takes young men from their schools and homes, subjects them to military discipline, and sends them to faraway places, sometimes to be killed or maimed. These young men have no lobbies in Congress to forestall their sacrifice.

Yet powerful interests fight the Government because they want only outsized profits. Lives can be sacrificed; dollars, never!

I HAVE also been asked why I, a strong advocate of ever more and better production, have not come out for more production as the answer to inflation. The argument is

that if we produce more to meet the rising demand, the supplies will suffice to meet the requirements, and there would be no pressure on prices.

That argument holds water in normal times, but it's a sieve in abnormal times. We simply do not have enough materials to permit all-out production of durable civilian goods at the same time that we are striving to produce tanks, planes, and guns in sufficient numbers to deter Russia from an attack.

I have, however, supported additional production of basic materials such as steel, copper, and aluminum, as well as many other materials, as one means of meeting defense needs without too great a drain on the civilian economy. We are already beginning to achieve noteworthy increases in such production.

But this is a far cry from supporting all-out production of durable civilian goods such as automobiles, refrigerators, TV sets, and the like. Increased production in such lines is not the answer simply because it's impossible.

Perhaps all the above may give some answer to the question, "What has happened to Charlie Wilson?" In essence, the answer is that nothing has happened to Wilson. He's still at the old stand, hating controls, and determined to get rid of them the moment the safety of the country permits.

FOR A SICK WORLD—A CHRISTIAN R

By ELIZABETH LUM DRAKE.

FOR the last five winters I have been roaming in Asia, Mexico, and Central America, far from my northern New Jersey home that is within commuting distance from United Nations headquarters. Numberless times to my surprise I have been quizzed by the residents of these distant places about the United Nations and Protestant America's attitude toward it. Ill-clad natives asked intelligent, searching questions. Men and women living across oceans and miles away from New York City are tremendously interested in this great experiment in world living and are praying in many tongues that it may not fail but may achieve its high purpose.

FOR many of these people, so different from ourselves in appearance, customs, and standards of living, but so like us in human wants and needs, the Technical Assistance program of the United Nations is the core of their interest. It is the part of UN that they can best understand, for it is closest to their lives. Alone they cannot hoist themselves from the mire of poverty, ig-

norance, and disease in which they are caught. But with leadership, guidance, and educational assistance, they expect to make progress, and find hope that the future will be better than the sordid past.

Heretofore Christian missionaries have labored in foreign fields to bring to non-Christians, and especially the underprivileged, a glimpse of a better way of life. Dedicated men and women have shown the way of Christ and explained his teachings in an effort to assist the forlorn toward an existence worth living. But the numbers of missionaries have been small, budgets often smaller, and the populations of the earth are multitudinous. Now there is opportunity through the new medium, Technical Assistance, to accomplish on a large scale much that in the past has been confined to restricted locales.

FOREIGN missions study in 1952 will be focused on Latin America, and many North Americans will become aware of the trying problems that haunt our southern neighbors. It will be a time of exploration

The author is active in health and civic organizations, a board member of the Wellesley Institute for Social Progress, the mother of three grown sons, and a member of Ogden Memorial Presbyterian Church in Chatham, New Jersey.

of our Latin-American missions, study of their work and the conditions they face. It will be a time, also, to investigate still other missionary efforts in Latin America—the technical assistance projects in which our Government and the United Nations are engaged, for the work of the Church and of Government agencies in the rehabilitation of suffering humanity can be related.

However, the Christians' contribution to the Technical Assistance program is threatened by national fears and monetary self-interest, a self-interest that is disastrously shortsighted. For many Americans are not approaching the problem of assistance as a way to channel aid to the less fortunate and to bring them understanding of our democratic form of life, but as a way to secure for our own nationalistic purposes the strategic materials that many of these countries possess.

Many people in the U.S.A. look upon our help as a means to a "trade": a method of securing minerals and raw materials of which we are in need, using what should be our opportunity to be real Christians as a lever, a pressure point, in our military program. Certainly fear can never be a basis for an honest good deed; and the present-day fears, so prevalent, cannot be the basis of help toward a peaceful world. If we pursue the policy of swapping aid for strategic material

and war supplies, many of our neighbors will be assured by those who wish to destroy us that our designs are imperialistic and will fail utterly to see the good will that most Americans bear toward others.

As A peaceful solution to human need and ominous unrest the Technical Assistance program has tremendous possibilities. These were demonstrated to me on a visit to one of our Latin-American neighbors this past winter.

In Central America, stretched along the Pacific Coast, is El Salvador, a tiny country slightly larger than the state of Vermont. "The Savior," because of its diminutive size, is ignored by people of larger countries and passed by as unimportant. Yet this country lies between the U.S.A. and the Panama Canal and what transpires there and within the borders of all Central America should be of very real concern to all Americans. El Salvador serves as a sample of the underprivileged nations scattered about the globe, for its problems, though small-scale, are typical.

El Salvador is Christian and has been ever since the conquistadors snatched it from the Indians and Catholicized it in 1525. These same conquerors simultaneously saddled upon the economy of the country a system of large landholdings. For years these remained in the clutches of the few, a characteristic of Span-

ish occupation and the medieval Catholic Church. The principles of primogenitor and the intermarriage of the very wealthy have piled up fantastic fortunes, until today, four hundred years later, a high Government official informed me, the country is controlled by twenty families. Two million peons are living and working in conditions of near starvation, while the small middle class fails to thrive because of the disproportionate distribution of educational opportunity and purchasing power.

The coffee crop is El Salvador's most important financial asset, though in this completely agricultural country sugar, henequen, and cotton are under cultivation as well as a variety of fruits and vegetables.

Coffee, a delicate crop, requires few workers during the long growing season, but when the picking begins it is necessary to import great crowds of migrants. These wandering folk come across the borders from Guatemala and Honduras. They live in horrifying conditions, adding to the almost unbelievable squalor of the already overpopulated land. Migrants fare badly the world over, but conditions among them in Central America touch the nadir, a low barely seen even in the scandalously evil situation of sugarcane workers in the Philippines and rubber "slaves" in Malaya.

Peons regularly employed on coffee *fincas* (farms) work for a

few pennies. Wages seldom amount to more than 50 cents a day, and this in a country where the cost of purchased articles is high, and where cheap and shoddy goods are imported in great quantity from our Christian U.S.A. to be resold at exorbitant prices.

The *fincas'* permanent laborers and their families live in dark thatched huts with mud floors and no conveniences, in proximity to the elaborate haciendas of the owners, sumptuous homes with swimming pools, tiled baths, cool verandas, bars, deep freezes full of the world's dainties and whatever else titivates the rich man's fancy.

There is primary education for some of the children, though about 70 per cent of the people are illiterate. There is little if any health education. Recreational opportunity is rare indeed and the avocations of craftwork, indigenous music and fiesta dancing so usual in Mexico and Guatemala, are conspicuously absent. The workers wear a sad, sullen look—none of the broad smiles and ready response of most of the Mexican peons.

Saturday nights are times when the male population celebrates, seeking nirvana in an orgy of *aguardiente*, a potent cane intoxicant. It is horrible to observe the creatures which this throat-scorching drink makes of men. Flourishing their machetes in savage fashion, they indulge in fights, stabbings, and slash-

ings, and the sex urge increased during these frenzies has produced a population that is in too large a part illegitimate. The social service consultant of the UN for the area, with whom I discussed conditions, estimated illegitimacy as high as 70 per cent.

The present Government of El Salvador is progressive and UN-minded. Many of the surprisingly young public servants have been trained in the U.S.A. where courses in government, sociology, and science have introduced them to modern welfare and educational methods which they in turn are attempting to put into practice in their homeland. The University of El Salvador is industriously training personnel for health and agricultural programs. Normal-school training is attracting an ever-increasing number of potential teachers. But at present there is a dearth of leaders prepared to carry on the work efficiently, and with sufficient rapidity to make real headway in raising living standards and thus combating Communism, which thrives on oppression and poverty.

At the request of the El Salvador Government, the United Nations has come to the rescue with various kinds of technical assistance. Several specialized agencies of the UN have sent in experts to assist those who have the will to improve but lack the know-how. The Technical Assistance administration recruits

its experts from many nations and offers its aid to those who request it.

Under this co-ordinated plan a demonstration project is being set up at Quezaltepeque. Near this city of 16,000 to the north and west of San Salvador, a large area of land has been set aside where the great experiment, one of several about the world, is to be carried out. This region in El Salvador has a dense population of 100,000 impoverished, unhappy people. The plan of assistance has been drawn up under the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, in conjunction with the organizations for World Health, Food and Agriculture, International Labor, and International Civil Aviation, and support for it is coming from many UN countries. Even Switzerland, still not a member of the UN, considers the experiment so valuable that it has contributed liberally!

Technical farm experts will guide work from the agricultural extension station. Health teams will toil to inform the people on the causes and treatment of tuberculosis, malaria, hook, ring, and tape worm, venereal disease, all of which take a distressing toll of life and keep life expectancy in the low thirties. Housing experts will demonstrate methods of cheap building so that clean and adequate homes with conveniences may be available to a people who have lived in alleys crowded with dreary shacks. Last winter in one of

these slums fifty families were found packed into seventeen rooms. Social welfare, labor relations, and education all have their part in the planned program.

To carry out this demonstration many high-minded, well-trained technicians are needed, and Quezaltepeque is but one of many places using Technical Assistance. Men and women speaking the tongues of the natives, prepared for, experienced in, and dedicated to their mission, are in great demand. People with a true concern for each individual must be recruited. Workers who can forget comforts and adjust to difficult conditions, who can in fact be missionaries in their attitude, are desperately needed. Only a true Christian has within himself the basic qualifications for such work.

A social service law is written on the statute books of El Salvador, but is not yet in force. On paper the law covers sickness, old age, orphans and widows, maternal health and unemployment. But trained public servants and a better-educated public are needed to put the law into effect. At present the statute is useless among people so illiterate and superstitious, and so ignorant of their basic rights as human beings!

EL SALVADOR is a fair and flower-ing land, but in May, 1951, it suffered a great disaster. Earthquakes, mild ones, are common, and there were several while I was there

in April, but no one foretold the horrible destruction that would soon take place. In the four severe shocks that climaxed the earth's unease, one city was totally destroyed and two others literally torn to bits; 100,000 persons were left homeless and 35,000 under emergency care.

To a country as poverty-full as El Salvador this has been a shattering blow. However, the Assistant Minister of the Exterior in a recent letter stated that the prompt pouring in of aid in this emergency has been an inspiration. It has taught El Salvador that people of other countries do have a concern for each other.

It is now up to the world, and the much privileged United States especially, to realize that underprivileged countries and needy people are always in a sort of emergency state, a never-ending tight spot. Concerned help must be channeled to them not only when some spectacular trouble makes the headlines. Every day of their lives these people are seeking relief.

Step by careful step the Technical Assistance program can be made available to the depressed. Hope can be brought, hope which is in the power of Christians to supply by demanding that their Governments provide funds and leadership. For a world today cannot exist half starved, half diseased, half despairing. If Christians do not exert their influence to remedy these conditions, peace cannot follow.

"THE COMMON PEOPLE HEARD HIM GLADLY"

By HENRY D. JONES, *Minister, Presbyterian Church, Wadena, Iowa.*

A TENANT farmer on a sharply rolling Iowa farm said to the preacher, *"I sure wish my five little girls could come to Sunday school, but we can't depend on our old car to make the trip to town."* His wife said: *"The most glorious, happy experience in my husband's life as a child was his going to Sunday school. He wants that for our children now. I never got to church or Sunday school at all as a child because our family never had transportation for quick trips to town."*

A skilled mechanic in a farm implement manufacturing company said: *"I always used to go to church and I send my kids now. But I got fed up when the pastor got up at a meeting of the congregation and told us all that the kind of men we needed to elect as church officers were up-and-coming businessmen, men who knew how to make money!—as though that were the measure of a man's place in the church! It has taken me a good many years to learn my trade, but my skill or faithfulness to my job or my character don't count in the church."* In his plant this man is the elected head of the labor union of more than three thousand workers.

An unskilled restaurant worker he was. Once he had been an enthusiastic, faithful church member. He himself had grown up in the Sunday school, and his little girl never missed a Sunday. But the pastor who had known him as a boy had moved away. The new pastor knew him only as a dishwasher in a downtown restaurant. When he had been elected a business agent for his union the pastor asked him the next time he came to church, *"How can you be a union leader and pretend to be a Christian too?"* The man never went back to church!

THE foreign mission study book for this year, *We Americans: North and South*, plainly states: "As regards organized labor, the most significant thing that has happened in Latin America during the past decade is the awakening of the working classes in countries like Mexico, Costa Rica, Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina, where the working man is no longer an enslaved Indian and where he has become conscious of himself as an element of power. Christianity, either Protestant or Roman Catholic, is not exerting

much influence on this new force. Romanism has always allied itself with the landowning class and is itself a powerful landowner."

There is a great unrest among the working classes, but it is a mistake to suspect that Communism is back of the occasional outbreaks of violence. The military coups, which have so frequently overturned Latin-American Governments, have certainly not been engineered by Communists posing as generals. Not long ago a Roman Catholic member of the Chilean National Congress declared that "in Chile there is no Communism, but plenty of hunger." As long as hunger is king, there will be unrest. This would be true even if Karl Marx had never written *Das Kapital* and Russia had not followed the Communist line.

Yes, the common people heard Jesus gladly. It was the scribes and pharisees, the intellectuals of his day, who gave our Lord the greatest difficulty. And so it is today. Protestantism has found a ready response from the South American Indian and the peon.

BUT are the people hearing the message of Jesus today through our American churches? Do we talk the language of the people? Do we talk the language of Jesus, the message which the people heard so gladly?

It frightens me when I go into most of our American churches to-

day—they are so comfortable; they are so spotless! I'm afraid that the children whom Jesus gathered on his knee would not be welcomed. The Chinese Christians I knew in the factory districts of Shanghai would not stay, they would be too uncomfortable. I am afraid that they would be among those whom I heard a fellow minister describe as "the kind of folk that do not make Presbyterians."

One day, when I was trying to present the gospel message to a factory worker, I was met with this comment: "I don't understand you Christians when you talk about one God—three in one. It brings the image to my mind of some heathen god with three heads and many hands. Why not talk so that an ordinary fellow can understand you?"

WHEREVER we have presented Christ's message in deeds of kindness and mercy and a loving concern for the people whom we serve, there has been an understanding of Christ's Spirit and truth. It is exceedingly important that we develop methods of reaching, for instance, the factory worker beyond midweek, the eleven o'clock service on Sunday morning, or an evangelistic series of meetings. The Church of Scotland found that it could serve the men in factories by sending ministers into the factories on appointment for services any day of the week. Counseling be-

came a large part of their pastoral responsibility. Today a great number of the pastors of the Church of Scotland serve the men in two or three factories along with their parish work. In France the conscience of the Protestant Church has been so stirred by its failure to reach the workers that some of its ministers have left the pastorate and become factory workers in order that they might come closer to the men and thereby be more able to share Christ's way with them.

Then, too, Industrial Christian Fellowship in England has training schools for ministers in how to "talk the language of the worker." Many experiences have proven to me how essential this is.

SOME Protestant churches in Europe and in mission lands have brought workers together in craft or vocational groups. Men of the same craft understand one another's problems, at least so far as their work is concerned, and they have a sense of the brotherhood of work which brings them close together. As an occupational group they can discuss and discover what it means to apply the gospel to their daily lives. Such personal evangelism has a persuasive and powerful appeal.

IN THIS country, a pastor can call on a storekeeper or businessman in his place of business, but he

would have a difficult time calling on a bricklayer or plasterer in his place of business. Of course, the pastor might call on him at the union hall during a union meeting. Yet to call together all the union members of a congregation and discuss ways whereby these Christian laymen might extend their Christian influence within their own group of working fellows would be immensely important.

Pastors should also know that most unions would be very happy to have them attend their meetings as visitors, especially if they are brought to the meeting and introduced by one of their own laymen.

No missionary to Japan or India would attempt to reach the people of those lands without some study of the background or of the mental patterns of the people. It is necessary to find the gateways by which to enter and the pathways that will lead to a possible understanding of Christ. Why then should we not here in our own land give more time and serious study to the thought patterns and work patterns of the people whom we are not reaching?

IT IS immensely important for any city pastor to know the history and tradition of the labor unions of this country, and especially of the unions in his own city. This understanding cannot be obtained by reading the daily newspapers. Library research and personal visits

to labor meetings are required to turn up the facts. In one city recently I went to the public library to learn something of the labor history. Though the community was known as a university town rather than a workingman's, I found an astonishing collection of labor books, old ones and the very latest ones as well. More surprising still, the books were well-worn, and there was a waiting list for the newest publications! Our Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations is doing an excellent job in helping many of our pastors to understand something of how to approach the labor union groups in their own communities.

The farmers on marginal lands, the hired men on the farms of our church members, itinerant laborers harvesting the crops (200,000 Mexicans were brought into our Southwestern states this year), the production line workers in our factories, the dishwashers in our restaurants and the scrub women in our offices—are we reaching these people in our churches? Are they included in our spiritual advance? I wonder what James, of the New Testament, would have to say to us today. "Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers [and talkers] only."

JESUS offered a peace that passes all understanding, and the people heard him gladly as he taught of it. He helped them to find that peace in the midst of a warring, distraught

world. He gave new meaning and direction to life: there was a part that every man and woman could have in building the Kingdom.

"If God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Where-withal shall we be clothed? . . . For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." In the midst of an inflation that continues to spiral and rob the people of their savings and of their hard-earned standard of living, this message of Jesus would gladly be heard again from a Church that moves out into the economic life of our nation and speaks with the dynamic of Christian conviction, regarding injustice, false economy and a juggling of dollars, and all other economic practices contrary to moral law in high or low places.

Of all the yearnings in the hearts of men today the desire for peace is the greatest. If we can recapture the peace that Jesus gave, if we can help the people to know that they have a very definite part to play in the bringing of this peace to the world and give them that task to do, we may recapture something of the gladness with which men heard him. Seven hundred million Christians in the world today can and must find a way—"the Way" of Jesus.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE CAT AND THE RAT

This is not a newly discovered fable by Aesop; nor is it a parable nor a flight into fantasy; it is simply an account of a successful experiment by Professor Loh Seng Tsai.

ONE morning last year Tulane psychology professor Loh Seng Tsai lay in bed reading the newspaper account of Russia setting off an atomic bomb as announced by President Truman.

The future of the world is gloomy, he mused.

It looks as though the nations are going their separate ways with little thought of co-operation. Why can't they get together?

If the so-called natural enemies, the cat and the rat, can get along together, why can't human beings, races, and nationalities co-operate with each other?

Maybe, he thought, they need a lesson in co-operation among the "natural enemies"—an experiment that would demonstrate to the world that cats and rats not only can live together, eat together, play together, but also work together, side by side, co-operating with each other for the common good of both.

The same morning, Dr. Tsai, a pioneer in animal psychology, began his cat-rat co-operation experiment in his laboratory.

The groundwork was pretty well

laid out. Dr. Tsai himself published in 1933 a report of the first experiment in animal co-operation between rats ever recorded. Off and on through the years he conducted similar researches, including extensive work at Tulane in 1948-1949.

But that was co-operation between rats!!!

WHETHER cats and rats can co-operate is an entirely different problem. Dr. Tsai recalled that his former colleague, Dr. Z. Y. Kuo, of Fuh Tan University in Shanghai, once conducted experiments with rats and cats, succeeding in raising them together from shortly after birth to maturity.

So the Tulane professor took three kittens about three weeks old and three young rats and placed them in a cage where they learned to live together as they grew. He then put all six of them in a larger version of his Tsai Co-operation Apparatus to get the feel of playing and working together.

The apparatus—patterned after the one Dr. Tsai designed for his
(Continued on page 18)

OPEN LETTER TO FOUR THOUSAND PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS AND CHURCH LEADERS

WE ARE indebted to you for the the flood of requests for the study book *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*. The demand will likely sweep nearly half our first ten thousand edition direct to you from the printers. We also have you to thank for the resultant complete exhaustion of our world order budget for this study. Rarely has the depletion of a budget caused such rejoicing! Now we pray this "seed" will bring forth a hundredfold. We are so reduced that we must depend on this page, in lieu of a letter, to carry our appreciation and to emphasize suggestions essential to the full success of the program. You will greatly assist us and advance the General Assembly's "Call to Action" by bearing in mind the following suggestions:

- Place the planning and leadership of the study in the hands of your most dedicated members. "Two or three" are enough to insure a rewarding study.
- Having undertaken the study, do it thoroughly. The study will require four study sessions for each of the five chapters. Don't yield to the temptation to do a "skim" job of the entire book in three or four sessions. If a group must be held to a few sessions at one time, put all the attention on one chapter chosen by the group. The group's pleasure in a job well done and the individual's satisfaction in a new competence in one subject area will inspire the group to continue at some later time with the study.
- Place your quantity order for books well in advance of the date you plan to begin your study. (Quantity orders to one address, 40 cents a copy; from your nearest Westminster Book Store.) Early orders will make it possible for The Westminster Press to gauge the demand and place the order for the next printing in time to keep ahead of the sales.
- Be sure every member of the group has his own book.

The battle for peace and its victories requires greater sacrifice, a higher devotion, than the victories of a war. Let us call our people to the exacting but blessed labor of the peacemakers, that we may all be called the children of God.

to Faith

MAKE AMERICA STRONG

ACCORDING to an Italian fable, a peasant one evening met the Black Death outside his diseased and death-stricken city. The man assailed the Plague, heaping curses on his head, for the homes that had been turned into sepulchers and the piles of dead lying in the streets. The Plague listened with satisfaction to the account of the disaster. But, being an honest Plague, he at last checked his accuser, confessing that he did not deserve credit for all the evil done. In fact, the Plague acknowledged he had killed only a few score, whereas Panic had killed thousands.

If freedom dies in the United States, it will be from suicide induced by panic rather than defeat under the armed attack of a foreign totalitarian power. Greater than the danger that threatens America from the tyranny of the Kremlin (and that is very real) is the danger from the terror inspired by the Kremlin and the Communist Party, both at home and abroad. It is for this reason urgent that we identify and resist even some well-intentioned measures undertaken in the name of security which in fact dangerously reduce our liberty and promise in the end to destroy our freedom. We are not reduced to panic yet, but there are symptoms of irrationality attending our fear of Russia, revealed in the irresponsible denunciation of responsible statesmen; the unrestrained condemnation by heads of Government of other rulers of states with whom we are nominally at peace, the rash of loyalty hunts, driving steadily deeper into all areas of our economic, social, political, and educational life. It is not reassuring to consider that some are crying, "Wolf!" as a dishonest partisan strategy to secure political power.

We need to study such a carefully documented judgment as that found in Alan Barth's excellent book, *The Loyalty of Free Men*: "Nothing that the agents of Communism have done or can do in this country is so dangerous to the United States as what they have induced us . . . to do to ourselves."

Faithfully yours,
Paul Newton Poling.

Co-operation

(Continued from page 15)

rat co-operation research—is a box-like affair on legs. It is composed of three sections, each separated by screen gates that are electrically controlled. The first section is the entrance or release box, where the cat and the rat assemble for each test. When Dr. Tsai opens the gate, the animals enter the reaction chamber, where co-operation is to occur.

To get into the third section, the goal, where a dish of food awaits them, both the cat and the rat must each step on a floor button simultaneously. When this is done, the gate goes down and they are free to enter the goal chamber and eat the food.

“Both the cat and the rat have to learn first,” Dr. Tsai says, “that the buttons are keys to the food. They must learn that it is futile for one of them to step on a button while his partner does not co-operate. They must learn that teamwork—each one stepping on one button at the same time—is the only solution.”

Both the cat and the rat are hungry and can see and smell the food in the goal chamber.

AFTER Dr. Tsai completed his orientation test, involving three cats and three rats, he was ready for the real test.

He paired them off. For example, “Kitty” the cat was paired with “Micky” the rat.

Before the tests were begun, each pair was fed together at the goal box to familiarize them with the general experimental situation. The rats were given rat food and the cats fed on dog food. It was soon learned that rats liked dog food too, so Red Heart became their common goal.

But things weren’t at all rosy.

The little buttons proved to be too small. The animals didn’t pay much attention to them. Dr. Tsai changed them from one inch in diameter to two and one half inches. He put food on both keys to get the cat and the rat started, but they would both eat off the same key. He noticed that the keys were too far away from the gate where the cat and the rat could see and smell the food in the goal box.

Dr. Tsai moved the buttons closer to the gate.

The animals began to get the idea. At first one of the cats began to play with his partner’s tail and incidentally both pressed the two keys simultaneously, opening the gate. So the cat would continue to play with the rat’s tail as if thinking that tail manipulation would open the door.

Brother Rat then would attract the cat’s attention with his tail and when the cat’s paw was on the cat’s button, he would then scurry over to press his own.

Soon all pairs began to work together. At first they averaged three successful trials a day. Then five, then ten, then fifteen. Finally, they

took only two or three seconds from the time they left the entrance to the time they reached the goal.

BUT Dr. Tsai wasn't satisfied. These experiments were made with animals who had lived together from shortly after birth. What about working with alley cats?

The Tulane researcher was given four little alley kittens, born in New Orleans' French Quarter—two blocks off famed Bourbon Street. They were weaned, and already two months old. They should have had the experience of foraging for little alley rats.

But Dr. Tsai soon found out that these alley cats pitched right in and co-operated with their four rat partners as well as their domestic cat predecessors.

Even better, they brought their batting average to fifteen without much "living together" indoctrination.

Both the cats and the rats started right in from scratch.

They also provided a little ingenuity of their own.

One of the rats got his tail caught in the door during a trial run and became a little cautious. He would stay in the entrance chamber after the gate was raised. But the cat partner, anxious to get going, would come back to the entrance, and motion with his paw for his buddy to "come in."

Of course, this procedure was

doubted by some other Tulane psychologists, who had to see for themselves. Dr. Fred McKinney, visiting professor of psychology from the University of Missouri—the "show me state"—was especially doubtful.

He saw. He believed.

"The cat did it repeatedly. It could not have been random," he remarked.

Both the alley cats and their domestic cousins got a little smart when they were in the reaction chamber. Several of them would lie down by their button, watch until the rat got into position, and then playfully reach out and tap the key with a paw. Other times they would plant both feet on the button, arch their backs, ready to leap into the goal chamber.

DR. TSAI installed an extra key in the reaction chamber in front of the entrance gate. Only one member of the pair was put in the reaction chamber while the other was retained in the entrance box. Seeing that he could not solve the problem alone, the released cat or rat alike soon came to press this new key and let his partner out before they went to the opposite side of the reaction chamber to press the two keys simultaneously. In other words, he helped to let his partner out first so that his partner could help him.

So what does this all mean?

It means that Dr. Tsai has demonstrated for the first time that cats

and rats can and do co-operate.

It seems that if the so-called natural enemies can co-operate, why not human beings, races, and nationalities?

DR. TSAI thinks that man has not yet learned to co-operate in order to save the world from atomic destruction.

"Our knowledge about the basic principles of co-operation is still very meager," he says. "We do not know exactly what are the conditions under which human beings, and animals alike, would co-operate.

"From researches like this, such factors as common background, common motive, training, and optimal age for training can be independently varied and studied. The results will throw light on the problem of world peace and international co-operation, upon which the entire fate of mankind depends."

Dr. Tsai believes that more funds should be appropriated for research on co-operation than on destruction.

"Lasting peace can be achieved only through co-operation," he says.

Educated in this country, Dr. Tsai has also taught in the United States a great deal: at the University of Chicago, Brown University, and the University of California at Los Angeles. He also served as dean of

the college of arts at the University of Nanking; dean of the teachers college of Sun Yat-sen University; and acting director of the National Research Institute of Psychology in the former Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Three years ago he came to Tulane as a visiting professor, and last summer he was appointed a permanent professor.

Dr. Tsai reported the results of his cat-rat co-operation experiments at the psychology section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science meetings in Cleveland, where he also showed his color film on *The Story of Co-operation Between the Cat and the Rat*.

As moral encouragement to the efforts being made by Sir Benegal Rau, Ambassador Lester B. Pearson, and President Nasrollah Entezam in the Korean cease-fire negotiations, Dr. Tsai sent his cat-rat co-operation pictures, labeled *Peace on Earth*, to the United Nations delegates with Christmas greetings.

"If cats and rats co-operate, why not nations?"

"While the world is preparing for the worst, we should nevertheless hope for the best and should help to bring that hope to realization with love and faith."

CHRISTIAN *Action*

NEW OUTRAGE IN CICERO

Concerned Christians everywhere deplored last July's three-day riot in Cicero, Illinois, when Harvey E. Clark, Jr., a Negro employee of the City of Chicago, attempted to move into an apartment building in the all-white Chicago suburb. The riot, which continued for three days and at times included mobs of close to 10,000, caused the near destruction of the building and the aggravation of severe racial tensions throughout the greater Chicago area. Its international implications have been fully exploited throughout the world.

Presbyterian ministers in areas adjoining Cicero promptly and publicly protested the tragic melee. The Presbytery of Chicago supported them and voted that the following letter be sent to Rev. Homer F. Roberts, Rev. Gilbert T. Bremicker, and Rev. Bartlett L. Hess:

"We honor you for the swift and courageous stand you took immediately after the Cicero Race Riot in July by publicly announcing through the daily press that you deplored the actions of the mob that took the law into its own hands. We appreciate how deeply some of your fellow citizens believed that property values were at stake, and we honor you for testifying even in that dangerous moment to the Christian faith in brotherhood.

"We want you to know that we feel that you truly represented us, and we trust that your congregations do likewise."

A recent release from the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has alerted the Division of Social Education and Action to the latest Cicero outrage. On September 18 the Cook County grand jury returned indictments against six persons. One is Erwin Konovsky, Cicero police chief; a second is Norman Silverman, who was alleged to have incited the mob by distributing Communist Party leaflets. The four others are Mrs. Camille DeRose, white former owner of the Cicero apartment building; W. George C. Adams, Negro attorney, who had represented Mrs. DeRose in the transfer of the property to a Negro syndicate; Charles Edwards, a Negro real-estate agent; and George Leighton, a prominent Negro attorney for the NAACP, who represented Mr. Clark in a Federal proceeding to restrain the police department of Cicero from interfering with his right to peaceful enjoyment of his apartment.

The indictment charges these four with (1) conspiracy to sell property to Negroes to depreciate the value of the property of white persons; (2) disturbing the peace and causing the riot; (3) damaging property; and (4) encouraging rioters to resist law enforcement officers who ordered the rioters to disperse.

If these indictments stand and the defendants are convicted, fundamental civil liberties in the United States are threatened. Cook County will also bring American democracy to trial in the all-seeing eyes of the world.

The following action may be taken to prevent these tragedies: Write to President Truman and Attorney General McGrath, requesting Cicero prosecution under the civil rights law.

Governor Adlai Stevenson, urging an over-all investigation of discrimination in housing.

Raymond M. Foley, IHFA administrator, urging that Federal agencies be put to work immediately to expand the supply of decent, standard housing available to minority families in greater Chicago.

GROWERS INTENSIFY DRIVE TO NULLIFY CHILD LABOR CONTROLS

Over a year ago an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act went into effect setting a minimum age for work on commercial farms during school hours except on home farms.

Since that time four bills and one House Joint Resolution have been introduced in Congress to nullify this provision. The bills before the House Committee on Education and Labor are: H.R. 3252, H.R. 1271, H.R. 2743, H.R. 2796, and H. J. Res. 208. The purpose of all these bills is to allow children to work in agriculture during school hours.

An example of the complete disregard of the rights of the people who harvest the crops of this nation appears in House Joint Resolution 208, introduced by Representative Mahon of Texas, which provides "that Federal legislation which prohibits the employment of children during certain hours shall not apply with respect to the harvesting of basic agricultural commodities." It goes on to say that "whereas such harvesting is imperiled by existing Federal legislation, which prohibits the employment of children during the school hours of the school districts in which they live while they are working, without regard to whether or not such children have met the school attendance requirements of the school districts in which their homes are situated; and

"Whereas this prohibition in the Federal law tends to retard, rather than to facilitate, the education of many such children, in that it deprives them of good pay, without which pay their families are unable to provide them with the food, clothing, and school supplies necessary to their successful school attendance; and

"Whereas, in addition, this prohibition tends to retard the education of all children whose homes are situated in the affected agricultural areas, in that it has led to the closing of schools during harvest seasons, the holding of classes at night, and other serious disruptions of normal school routines, solely for the purpose of achieving technical compliance with this provision of Federal law. . . ."

On Friday, August 3, a delegation from Texas appeared before the House Committee on Education and Labor. This delegation was allowed to present its case to the Committee even though no announcement had been made that public hearings would be held on H.R. 1271 and related bills. Five Congressmen from Texas and Representative Hagen of Minnesota spoke in favor of exempting children who are excused by their local superintendent of schools for work during school hours.

The clerk of the House Committee on Education and Labor, Fred Hussey, handles requests to testify before the Com-

mittee on these bills. He has indicated that public hearings would be held. However, Chairman Barden probably needs some indication from organizations that they are interested in appearing.

Churches and civic organizations can help by demanding public hearings, by letter to Mr. Hussey, also by communicating their concern to Representative Graham A. Barden (D., N.C.), chairman of the Education and Labor Committee of the House. (Incidentally, Mr. Barden is a

Presbyterian, and should be informed of Presbyterian, U.S.A., General Assembly's stand for "full enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act.)

In addition, the possibilities of the Committee's reporting any one of these bills are fairly good unless some of the Republican members are won over. Most observers feel Representative Barden is in favor of this legislation as are the other conservative Southerners on Committee.

—From Agricultural Newsletter.

A.F.L. TO SET UP COMMITTEE TO STUDY FARM LABOR RELATIONS

The committee soon to be named by President Green will report on the following phases of farm labor relations:

"1. The conditions of farm laborers, as distinct from farm owners, and their relations with owners of big corporate farms.

"2. The extent to which these corporate farms, closely allied with business and financial interests, influence the policy of

the farm organizations in general.

"3. The effect upon the national economy of the present agricultural program, which provides floors for farm prices but no ceilings, and which extends tax exemptions to farm co-operatives.

"4. The real source of the drive in agricultural states for antilabor and antiliberal legislation."

FLORIDA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OPPOSES GAMBLING

American citizens are justly alarmed about the scope and influence of commercialized gambling in the United States. The churches of Florida have addressed themselves to the problem in their own state in the following declaration:

"As with other evils, members of our churches are guilty of sharing in the patronizing of commercialized gambling. We recognize that within the churches there are many who see no evil in so-called 'friendly bets.' We recognize that raffles, drawings, and other games of chance are used by some churches for producing funds for their activities. For this condition within the churches the Florida Council of Churches would bow before God in humble penitence and shame.

"We are deeply concerned that the tax and economic structure of our state government depends so largely upon monies

derived from taxes on gambling and alcoholic beverages. Certainly, so long as these things are legal, they should be made to carry a high degree of taxation, but we see the danger that may assail our state that its leaders may refuse to question the wisdom of legalized gambling because it keeps other taxes lower, or provides necessary revenue for the state.

"The present revelations of the extent and effect of gambling in Florida bear out the teaching of the churches that gambling is a vice that destroys personal character, corrupts public officials, and degrades the life of the whole state. Many attempt to justify it on the ground that it is good for business, that it is harmless if promoted for a good cause, and that it is necessary to the tourist economy of our state. Because of the above conditions and concerns, we believe that the spotlight on

gambling gives the churches an unprecedented opportunity to bring the principles involved in the practice before the citizens of our state.

"Be it resolved, therefore, that the Florida Council of Churches call upon the ministers and members of its churches to study and declare the nature of gambling: that it is evil because it provides for the denying of the laws of stewardship of property before God by providing for the transfer of property on the sole basis of chance, as near as the ones gambling can make the wager. Where this is not so, then the gambling is entered into on the basis of deceit and trickery on the part of one or both parties.

"Be it further resolved that our state

department of public education restudy the courses in civics in our junior and senior high schools and include materials showing the effect of gambling on our state's political structure.

"Be it further resolved by the council that the council commend all those seeking to secure rigid enforcement of the laws against commercialized gambling in any part of our state.

"Be it further resolved that all patriotic organizations, and social clubs and church organizations that claim to uphold the American way of life, insist that their organizations as such scrupulously obey the laws against gambling and in no way encourage their members to become law breakers."

WHAT'S YOUR FAVORITE RADIO PROGRAM?

When the vice-president of a national radio network met a member of the Wisconsin Association for Better Radio Listening his first remark was, "We're really not as bad as you think!" He was obviously unfamiliar with the Association's constructive approach and objectives of improving the listening ability and taste of the radio and TV public.

For five years the Association for Better Radio Listening has sponsored a listening project. Those participating in it rate the radio programs on the air from 4 to 10 P.M. and give reasons for their ratings. The Association compiles these reports and sends the rating sheets of its own listeners to each radio station concerned, along with a letter summarizing typical and unusually helpful comments of listeners.

Copies of ratings and letters are sent to the Federal Communications Commission, which licenses stations, and also to networks with which local stations are affiliated. According to the 1951 annual report of the listening project, exactly 3,592 listeners have taken part this year. Some live in Minnesota, California, and Illinois. Out-of-state reports have been added to those of Wisconsin listeners.

The Association publishes a monthly listing of outstanding programs recommended by the evaluation committee, and this listeners' guide is mailed singly and in quantity to a large membership (\$1.00 per year). Three pamphlets on radio listening are also widely used by clubs, study groups, and high schools. The first booklet, *Let's Learn to Listen*, features articles on how to listen to radio talks, political speeches, radio dramas, symphonies, news, and forums. *Radio Listening*, the second booklet, offers advice about writing to radio stations, and includes samples of letters to and from stations.

Teachers began writing the Association for information about teaching radio listening. The Association, in turn, asked successful teachers to record their experiences. The third booklet compiles their tested teaching techniques, and answers most constructively the question that is its title, *Can Radio Listening Be Taught?*

Many churchwomen representing Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups in the State of Wisconsin are active in the Association for Better Radio Listening. Such organizations as the Wisconsin Council of Church Women, the Wisconsin Federation

of Business and Professional Women, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and the American Association of University Women are represented in the projects of the Association.

Members and radio station managers feel that the work of the Association has very real influence on the standards of public taste.

—From The Capital Times, Madison, Wisc.

Worth Looking Into

CARE Children's Books are available in two separate "book shelves," designated as "A" and "B". The former is comprised of 34 picture books for young children. Shelf "B" consists of 33 simply written volumes on American history, geography, and similar subjects for older children who are learning English. Each "book shelf" is divided into five separate book packages at \$10 each, or \$50 for the complete shelf of either type of books.

Any American can aid in the spreading of American good will among the growing generation abroad. Contributions in any amount to the CARE-UNESCO Children's Book Fund may be forwarded through any local CARE outlet, or directly to CARE, 20 Broad Street, New York 5, New York.

A new national committee to carry out the objectives of the Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth has been organized under the chairmanship of Leonard W. Mayo, Presbyterian layman and Director of the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children and former president of the Child Welfare League of America. Elma Phillipson, White House Conference consultant on national organizations, has been appointed executive secretary. The group was named the National Mid-century Committee for Children and Youth.

Mr. Mayo has pointed out that the recent census showed that this country has more children and youth than ever before—a total of 53,000,000 under 21. These children are growing up in a time of national and world emergency. "Children are the nation's basic resource," Mr. Mayo said. "Crisis or no, we cannot allow serv-

ices for children to be frozen."

The committee has agreed to build its program upon the purpose of the Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth, which was "to consider how we can develop in children the mental, emotional, and spiritual qualities essential to individual happiness and to responsible citizenship, and what physical, economic, and social conditions are deemed necessary to this development."

The national committee will also make available a consultant service to state and local committees, national organizations, and Federal agencies serving children and youth.

In the year preceding the December meetings of the conference, over 100,000 citizens throughout the country took part in its activities. Since then, additional thousands have joined in follow-up activities; state and county committees are at work, and church leaders have a responsibility for informing themselves about the aims and activities of their state committees.

Write the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, for the name and address of the chairman of the Mid-century Committee for your state.

Selective Service and the Student Preparation for the Ministry is a pamphlet that will help ministerial students to find their own answers to many baffling moral questions about the draft and military deferment privileges afforded to seminary students. Copies may be purchased at 10 cents each from the Department of Higher Education, Board of Home Mis-

sions, Congregational Christian Churches, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois.

Christmas—for All the World's Children. If you love little children, let your Christmas greetings this year have special meaning—buy cards, the proceeds of which help some needy child through UNICEF, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

For the third successive year UNICEF will come forth with its own exceptional designs for Christmas greetings. Donated by Dagmar Starcke, beloved Danish children's artist, they will be a quintet of gay and artfully childlike color reproductions of her cloth *collages* (pieced together cut-

outs). Polka dots, checks, and delicate prints turn into charming tots, now placing a crown around the globe, now improvising a manger.

UNICEF's quintet will be sold in boxes of ten cards (two of each design) for \$1.00 a box. Each will carry season's greetings in the UN official languages—English, French, Russian, Spanish, and Chinese. All proceeds go to UNICEF whose work in sixty-five countries is voluntarily supported.

In addition, the United Nations will offer a more formal card, for the benefit of UNICEF. A brochure illustrating these truly significant greetings will be sent on request by UNICEF Greeting Card Fund, United Nations, New York.

CITIZENSHIP AND LEGISLATION

Universal Military Service and Training—The National Security Training Commission (September issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS), as of press time, had not sent to Congress its plan for universal military training. However, it is known that the report has been completed and will be in the hands of the Congressional Armed Services Committee at any moment.

An effort may be made by the proponents of the legislation to jam it through during the closing rush of the present session. Sufficient pressure by those who oppose UMS will prevent this, and delay action until February or March in the 1952 session. Now is the time to write your Congressmen your views.

Housing—The so-called defense housing bill (May issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS) has finally passed both houses and has been signed into law. It provides a total of \$1,635,000,000.

Primarily the law is designed to spur new housing construction by private industry near defense plants and military installations. It extends the Government mortgage insurance powers by \$500,000,000. It provides \$50 million for public housing to be constructed by the Government, if pri-

vate industry does not fill the need, and another \$60 million for such community services as waterworks and sewage systems. It provides \$10 million to buy housing sites in isolated defense areas and \$15 million for loans to assist the prefabricated housing industry.

The measure reduces sharply the minimum down payments required for houses costing \$12,000 or less. It also extends the pay-off period on such houses from 20 to 25 years.

As of press time, the President has just asked Congress for a supplemental appropriation of approximately \$102,000,000, under this defense housing law, to help relieve "shocking conditions" near some military bases as revealed by a report of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee.

The Administration's public housing program (September issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS), as finally agreed upon by Senate and House conferees and accepted by both houses, provides for the Senate figure of 50,000 units. The House-passed figure had been cut back to 5,000 units.

Foreign Aid Program—As we go to press this measure has been sent to a conference committee for reconciliation of dif-

ferences in the two versions of the bill as passed by the Senate and House.

The Administration requested \$8.5 billion for this program (September issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*). As passed by the House, the amount authorized was approximately one billion dollars less and the Senate version provided a cut approximating \$1.2 billion less. As we go to press the conferees have tentatively agreed on a total figure of \$7.5 billion.

Under the Senate version of the bill the foreign aid program would be administered by three separate agencies, military aid going to the Defense Department, Point Four assistance to the State Department, and economic aid to the Economic Cooperation Administration. The House bill provided for a unified administration of all foreign aid under an independent agency to be known as the Mutual Security Administration. On this point, at press time, the conferees have reached tentative agreement on a form of administration that provides for a director with full responsibility in the White House and operations to be carried out by the Defense and State Departments and a new agency replacing the Economic Administration.

It is expected that the bill will be substantially rewritten by the conference committee.

Military Spending—The lid is off on military expenditures in Washington. As of press time, the Administration's armed forces appropriation bill was in a conference committee of the Senate and House. As passed by the House, the bill provided for \$56 billion; the Senate version provided for approximately \$60 billion. This bill tops all previous peacetime outlays for the military.

In addition to this bill, the military construction bill with an authorization of just under \$6 billion has been passed by both houses and sent to the President, as we go to press. This measure, providing for hundreds of new and enlarged bases in this

country and abroad, is the largest construction program ever presented in peacetime. It is strictly an authorization measure; the money will have to be appropriated later.

These two bills, plus the foreign arms aid program and an estimated \$5 billion for another year of war in Korea, bring the military budget for 1952 to around \$78 billion, and there are warnings by Pentagon spokesmen on the "Hill" that there will have to be further supplemental appropriations later in the year. In addition to the above figure of \$78 billion the military has an unspent \$36 billion from last year's budget, making a grand total, without further supplemental monies, of \$114 billion.

Ethics in Government—A Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois conducted hearings during the summer on ethics in government. The hearings were inspired by a bill by Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, calling for the creation of a commission to make a study of morals in government. As we go to press the subcommittee has not yet submitted its report, which is expected to suggest specific amendments to existing laws as well as some new legislation.

United Nations Children's Emergency Fund—Late in September, Chairman Richards of the House Foreign Affairs Committee introduced a bill (H.R. 5382) providing for an appropriation of \$12,000,000 to the President to enable him to make contributions to this Fund until June 30, 1952, "in such manner and on such terms and conditions as he may deem to be in the interests of the United States to support international children's welfare work." At press time this bill was on the House Foreign Affairs Committee calendar, but action before the close of the present session was by no means assured. However, the bill has passed the Senate.

Sanctuary

HARVEST PONDERINGS

(This Sanctuary is intended to provide a worship service for a group, or it may be used equally well for private spiritual reflections.)

Thus Saith Jehovah,

Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom,
Neither let the mighty man glory in his might,
Let not the rich man glory in his riches;
But let him that glorieth glory in this,
That he hath understanding, and knoweth me,
That I am Jehovah who exerciseth lovingkindness, justice, and righteousness, in the earth:
For in these things I delight, saith Jehovah.

—Jer. 9: 23, 24.

Preparation for Prayer:

In the United States of America, the wheat is in the bin; the flour mills are grinding. The corn is in the shock; the apples are in storage. We face the winter without concern; we have food and to spare.

But—

"The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved. For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt: I mourn; dismay hath taken hold on me. Is there no balm in Gilead? is there no physician there? why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"—Jer. 8: 20-22.

Why, O God, do I mourn, and why am I in dismay when "thou crownest the year with thy goodness"?

My heart seems not to be at peace. I can pull down my barns and build bigger, but my aching soul warns me that this will not restore the joy of my salvation.

God, test me, try me, and see if there be any wicked way in me.

Am I guilty of the fighting in Asia? Am I party to the industrial strife in my own nation, and wherever man lifts his gnarled hands to cry for justice?

Am I at ease in Zion because my body is well fed, and my home is well heated?

God, teach me how to pray when wars and rumors of wars tremble my ears; when the cries of the hungry from the far ends of the earth pierce my sound-proof walls; when my own country eats, drinks, and is merry, putting off the evil day, thinking it will not come nigh unto this people.

Now, God, hear my prayer.

Prayer of Confession:

Have mercy upon us, O God, according to thy loving-kindness; according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out our transgressions. Wash us thoroughly from our

iniquities, and cleanse us from our sins. For we know our transgressions, and our sins are ever before us. Against thee, thee only, have we sinned, and done that which is evil in thy sight. Create in us clean hearts, O God, and renew a right spirit within us. Restore unto us the joy of thy salvation, and uphold us with a willing spirit. Then will we teach transgressors thy way, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Prayer Through Song: "O God of Earth and Altar."

Listening to God: Mark 4: 1-9.

Ponderings:

1. We are reaping where we have sown and what we have sown. No matter how earnest, intelligent, and sincere we have been in our sowing, no matter how diligently we have tried to proclaim the Word of God among the people, some seed has fallen on the trodden path, some on the rocky ground, some among thorns, but, thank God, some in good ground. Even though our hearts are heavy because of those who have rejected God's call we hope for a harvest of human resources. For it is God who gives the growth.

2. We remember the words of Jesus, who said as he looked on the teeming masses: "The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest." We pray God's forgiveness for the indifference of all of us whose talents are hidden in a napkin when the world is in such need. Lord Jesus, we join thee in thy prayer for workers—men and women who will study to make themselves approved unto God, who have no need to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth.

3. What makes India hungry and the United States overfed, God? Is it because of our pride, our selfishness, and our self-will? If we humble ourselves, Lord, wilt thou exalt this world? Will our humility bring food to the hungry and clothes to the naked?

4. Why has God given the United States all this wealth of food and forest, field and factory, and men and women without number? Are we deserving of such bounty? We know we are not. God is testing us to see what stewards can do when trusted completely. Can we, dare we, look God in the face if we fail to invest our rich resources for the good of all mankind?

Prayer of Thanksgiving:

We thank thee, Lord, that thou hast humbled us to confess our sins and mend our ways. We are grateful for another chance to prove to thee that thy trust in us has not been in vain. For the harvest of tares and weeds that have sprung up in our land and over all the earth, because of our poor husbandry, forgive us. For the harvest of opportunity to help to make the world the Kingdom of God, make us glad to be co-workers with thee. Teach us by thy patience to seek good and not evil, that in all our ways we may glorify thee. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—*Prepared by Dr. Earl F. Zeigler, Editor for Uniform Lessons and Today, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*

About Books

A Philosophy of Labor, by Frank Tannenbaum. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

A startling idea is here presented for the first time by Professor Tannenbaum, a historian at Columbia University. In brief, it's that the development of American trade-unions has been a conservative tendency and will in time become the most important bulwark against radical change.

In this well-documented work, the author ably defends his premise with numerous examples of how the various activities—economic, social, and political—of typical unions all combine to satisfy the “spiritual” as well as the material needs of their membership. This completeness renders the membership immune from the lure of the agitator who, according to Tannenbaum, bases his appeal largely upon the disunifying forces of modern society. The trade-union, by providing a feeling of belongingness which the job alone can seldom give, helps therefore to preserve the freedom of the worker while at the same time allows him a hand in improving his own working conditions.

Regardless of one's own viewpoint on the place of unions in industry, this is a provocative study about an institution that is undoubtedly here to stay.

—From Dun's Review, August, 1951

The Tenney Committee, by Edward L. Barrett, Jr. Cornell University Press. \$5.00.

A piano player and song writer (author of “Mexicali Rose”), Jack B. Tenney was elected to the California Assembly in 1936 as a left-wing Democrat. In 1938, at a rally of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, an organization he later designated a Com-

munist front, he was quoted as saying:

“Fellow subversive elements, I have just heard that Mickey Mouse is conspiring with Shirley Temple to overthrow the Government and that there is a witness who has seen the Red card of Donald Duck. When the Dies Committee stoops to calling President Roosevelt a Communist, and says that Mrs. Roosevelt is a front for subversive elements, then I think the rest of us should be flattered to be put in that category.”

Later that year, he was named in an affidavit before the Dies Committee as having been an active member of the Communist Party.

In 1941, Tenney introduced a bill to create the California Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities and became its chairman. Soon he was denouncing as Communist fronts such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. “It only takes two or three Communists on any board, no matter how big it is, and eventually it will be taken over,” he declared. Textbooks and teachers, labor unions and labor leaders were called Communistic indiscriminately. Anyone who criticized his committee—including members of the legislature—was labeled a Communist sympathizer. In 1949, the California Senate compelled his retirement from the committee as a condition of its continuance.

The story of Tenney's rise and fall, of his excesses and extravagances, is told with meticulous objectivity by Edward L. Barrett, Jr., professor of law at the University of California. The long excerpts from committee hearings and reports

make the story somewhat arid reading.

One hearing, however, produced genuine drama and a witness of high courage, dignity, and articulateness. Florence Eldridge (Mrs. Fredric March) gave the Tenney Committee a lesson in the fundamentals of Americanism. Her testimony ought to be read by every American who has fallen into the current fashion of imputing guilt by association. To this reviewer, she seemed the real heroine of the book.

The author credits Tenney with sincerity. He concludes, however, that faulty standards of evidence, circular reasoning, and disregard for the civil rights of witnesses led his committee into grave injustices. Indeed, it did irreparable injury not only to innocent individuals but to the community it pretended to protect.

—Alan Barth. *From The New York Times Book Review, August 26, 1951. Used by permission.*

These Found the Way, edited by David Wesley Soper. The Westminster Press. \$2.50.

Some reference books are kept on the shelf. This book will be read frequently and will provide inspiration time and time again for the Christian reader and also for the reader who is wavering between Christianity and atheism. Though the authors have had vastly different problems, there is a pattern in their experience. Thirteen people from different walks of life tell the story of how they came to accept Protestant Christianity. All have the same realization that something is wrong with life as it was first made to appear to them; all have searched for truth through examination of various philosophies of life; all struggle with conscience, and finally find the peace and satisfaction that come with the assurance that Christ is the way.

It may surprise you to find in these narratives, expressed sometimes candidly and intimately, some of your own doubts and fears. Their story is your story. You

may find yourself examining your own life and the values you have set for yourself and comparing them with those of these converts to Christianity.

It is fascinating to read how an atheist, an alcoholic, a Communist, a priest, a rich man, an invalid came to Protestant Christianity. William L. Gresham, for instance, had once believed that Marxist philosophy had all the answers to the problems of mankind.

"Our little group of middle-class dreamers," Mr. Gresham writes, "... drew strength from three realities: the real misery brought by an industrial system, the real desire to help others, and a real cause: the Republic of Spain." The civil war of the '30's took him to Spain, but he returned after the collapse of the Republic filled with bitterness, neurotic, and in ill health. In his neurotic state, he came to realize that Marxist materialism had failed him as a philosophy. The ritual of the Communist meetings seemed meaningless, and his personal problems seemed more than he could bear, until finally, after two years of despair, he hung himself from a hook. But the hook pulled out of the wall. "Life won."

That day began a long period of psychoanalysis which helped him to realize that a false philosophy may make a man ill; his disease was materialism. However, even though he no longer believed in Marxism, his neurosis had left an aftermath, and he had started drinking to relieve anxiety. Soon he could not control his desire to drink. Against this powerful craving Freud was useless; and it was only by the grace of God and the fellowship of a group of alcoholics who had made the decision to "turn their will and their lives over to God" that he was able to stop drinking. Mr. Gresham found that real prayer is "the beginning of an alcoholic's salvation."

The lives of other Christians afford equally dramatic testimony of man's road to God. Lee Jordan's life, blighted by arthritis—although not so turbulent phys-

ically as that of Gresham—is renewed in the Lord. Chad Walsh, to mention another, finds atheism poor sustenance for his soul in a crisis.

And so does each of the other men and women travel the stony path to a deeper and more meaningful life. By their revelations each of us may benefit in our own search for personal enrichment.

—*Florence L. Ridgely*

Europe and America, by Daniel Jenkins. The Westminster Press. \$1.50.

The prayer, "O for the grace to see ourselves as others see us," is answered in this little volume by an English Congregationalist who presents a stimulating discussion of the churches of Europe and America and their contributions to the world Church.

Many would challenge his right to speak so positively, even dogmatically, concerning the nature of American Church life, when the author's experience in the United States consisted of a one-year traveling fellowship and some limited teaching experience in metropolitan centers. It seems doubtful to this Midwestern reviewer that Mr. Jenkins has really felt the pulse of small-town and rural Protestantism in America. However, his observations are worthy of careful consideration, and he always writes sympathetically in full recognition that "America is not Europe, and its problems and opportunities are not those of Europe."

Throughout the book three ideas dominate his thinking. First is the fact that America is a young country without real maturity. Our churches are vital, energetic, and reflect American ideals of efficiency with impressive, although sometimes garish, "plants" and intensive "programs." Yet, as he comments, "church membership is often formal, and its basis and obligations are widely misunderstood," and the witness of some of the most crowded and popular churches to the central affirmations of the Christian faith is confused.

The second idea, closely related to the first, is that American churches lack interest in theology and the ecumenical movement. The author is convinced that European theology has something to give us, and he calls America the "ecumenical frontier." In the final chapter are three excellent suggestions concerning activities that would aid in the development of the ecumenical movement here. First is closer and more intimate discussion and co-operation between particular churches and national groups. Secondly, a better understanding by denominations of what is involved in membership in the ecumenical movement. Finally is the greater penetration of Church influence into secular life through the efforts of small, consecrated occupational groups.

The author's third emphasis centers in the problems arising out of America's great wealth and her position of world leadership. He likens her to the rich man who was handicapped in entering the Kingdom of God by his love of wealth and the power that it gives. Our possession of this power is not decried, but it is regarded as a trust from God to be used for the benefit of all free men.

This small book is well worth the time and effort of any thoughtful reader. Some of its insights are very penetrating. Mr. Jenkins' probing finger touches some sore spots in the body of your own church and your own thinking.

—*Frank L. Rearick*



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THE NUMBER ONE QUESTION

By NORMAN COUSINS, *Editor, The Saturday Review of Literature.*

AT A junior college in Lahore, the university city of Pakistan, I ran into trouble. In the question period following my talk a student of perhaps nineteen or twenty demanded the floor, then leveled a long and accusing finger at me.

"You have come to the wrong place if you expect us to believe your propaganda about America," he said in a tense and angry voice. "We know the truth about America, and we students protest your use of the platform of this college to try to pass off dishonest and untruthful stories about the United States. Since you have already spoken, it is too late to do anything about it. We can, however, enter a protest with the principal of the school for having invited you to speak. And we can demand that a representative or a supporter of the Soviet Union be permitted to come here and talk to us about conditions in that country."

As the student spoke, the head of the college, seated at my right, was visibly disturbed. He got up and walked to the front of the platform, interrupted the student, then began to apologize to me publicly for what he described as an "unfortunate outburst."

"I ask that the speaker ignore this

demonstration of bad manners," the principal said. "Here in Pakistan we give honor and not insults to our guests. I am sure I speak for the large majority of the students here in admonishing our ill-tempered and ill-mannered member."

IT APPEARED from the general applause at this point that most of the students agreed with the principal. I regretted, however, that he had disciplined the student openly. Actually, the student was not to blame. I had set the stage for his protest by expressing the hope that everyone should feel completely free to take issue with anything I said during my talk. My purpose in going to Pakistan was to have the fullest possible exchange of views. Accordingly, I assured the principal that I felt that what the student said did not reflect in any way upon the hospitality of the college, and that I was anxious to have the student enlarge on his remarks. What, in particular, did he object to in my talk as being propaganda?

The student seemed reluctant to get to his feet, and I asked the principal to assure him that it was entirely in order for him to continue to speak as openly as he had a mo-

ment ago. The principal seemed a little dubious at first about my request, then instructed the student to comply with the wishes of the speaker.

I AM sorry if what I said was regarded as an insult," the student began, "and I am sorry if I seemed angry. But you can understand how disturbing it is to hear things that we believe to be false and how unfair it is not to be able to hear about the Soviet Union when we are officially assembled to hear about the United States.

"You have asked me what it is in particular I disliked about your talk. Much of what you said about the United States was very general. You tried to give us confidence in America's intentions in the world. Frankly, I believe you to be an apologist for the American people at a time when America is committing great crimes in the world. If you really wanted to be honest with us"—and here his voice took on the same tenseness and harshness it had had when he had spoken the first time—"you would have admitted all the ugly things you do to people in America who do not happen to have a fair, white skin."

AT THIS point there were staccato shouts of approval and a short burst of applause. This emboldened the student, and he raised his voice.

"In America there are twenty million people who are called citizens

but who are not citizens at all. They have been condemned as inferior beings and they are not allowed to participate in what you call your democracy. They do not enjoy the same protection under the laws you give to white people. If a colored person commits even a minor crime, he is apt to be seized by crowds. Your lynchings are the purest form of mob justice in the world.

"If a colored person becomes ill, does he have available to him the same hospital and medical facilities as does the white? Can the colored person sit down at the same school desk, or register at the same hotel? Why do you insult the intelligence of the world by calling yourself a democracy when twenty million of your people are forced because of the accident of skin coloration to live in slums and eat inferior food and go to inferior schools and work at inferior jobs? Is this what you mean when you say that in a democracy the individual must be given every opportunity to develop himself and to fulfill his highest potential? Those are just words. Stupid, dishonest words, and you do no credit to yourself when you say them."

The principal stood up and once again started to reprimand the student, when I asked that he be allowed to complete his statement.

"I am grateful to you for your courtesy," the student said, "but I want you to know how I feel. Every one of us sitting here feels the same

way about your wicked and cruel race prejudice in the United States"—loud applause from the audience—"and every time we read about a lynching or about that very distinguished American Ralph Bunche's not accepting a high position in the American State Department because he would have to live in Washington, where he would have to stay out of the best hotels and restaurants and accept the status of an inferior person in the very capital of the country he was called upon to serve—when we read about this, we shake our heads sadly, then we shake our fists, because what you do is not only an insult to a great human being like Mr. Bunche, but a direct insult to all people in the world who do not have white skins like yours.

OFTEN we read about members of our Government and their families who have gone to the United States on official business and how they are openly insulted in the streets by ignorant and evil Americans and how they are turned away from hotels or deprived of seats in public transportation carriers or made to feel inferior. The chairman speaks of hospitality. You are entitled to it. But no country in the world offends the others with its lack of hospitality as does America.

"Well, we will tell you one thing. We are not inferior. There is the entire Moslem world that is involved in this. And there are the peoples

of India and China and Indonesia and Japan and South America. One day you are going to discover that you and your stupid prejudices are alone in the world and that the great majority of the world's peoples have decided that they have put up long enough with your fancy talk of superiority and your evil discriminations."

The atmosphere in the small auditorium seemed supercharged. Under the whiplash of the student's emotional outburst the audience was being transformed into an angry entity. He had touched off something powerful and harsh in the group, producing a mass countenance of vengeful bitterness. The principal saw it and moved quickly to head it off.

"A question period is for questions," he said strongly. "If you have a question, ask it, but no speeches."

"I intended what I said to be a question," the student said. "Does the speaker deny that race discrimination and prejudice exist in the United States, and if so, how does he reconcile these with his general statements about democracy in America?"

The student sat down and smiled triumphantly in response to the murmuring approval of his fellows. Though the majority of the students may not have agreed with the tone and temper of his remarks, they seemed to be generally sympathetic to his basic argument. This did not

surprise me. By the time I had come to Lahore I had spoken perhaps fifty times at public meetings in the Far East. And each time I had spoken, without exception the issue of race prejudice in the United States came up.

OUT of the countless questions that were asked me everywhere this was by all odds the one asked most frequently. Indeed, you could almost count on it to lead off any general question period, no matter what the particular subject matter of the talk happened to be. If I spoke about education in the United States or about journalism or about books or about American foreign policy, the first question was apt to be about lynchings or segregation. Nor did the auspices under which I spoke make much difference. Whether it was a gathering of conservative businessmen at a Rotary session in Bombay, or a meeting of Government officials in New Delhi, or a conference of editors, writers, and publishers in Calcutta, or a convention of theologians, the question unfailingly came up. Generally, of course, it would be asked with far more tact and moderation than had just been shown by the young Lahore student, but it was just as deep and insistent.

Before I had left the United States I had been warned that this was something I could expect to encounter almost everywhere I went, but not until I had to contend with

it day after day was I able to comprehend how strong and basic it is in the thinking of the Eastern people.

I had thought from what I had read that our identification with the British in Asia or our own Far Eastern foreign policy would be the chief targets of criticism. These were of concern, certainly, but they were small matters compared to the criticism against us on color grounds. One was conscious of it in almost everything that happened. Day after day the local newspapers would play it up prominently on the front pages. Frequently the news would be distorted or exaggerated, and sometimes news items that ostensibly had nothing to do with the problem of the Negro in America would carry some strained reference to it.

THE question would come up in polite and sometimes not-so-polite conversation. People seemed to have all the details about the exclusion of a colored applicant from a Southern university the day before, or the complete account of what happened when Indian or Pakistan individuals appearing in American public thoroughfares in their own national dress were insulted or accosted as freaks or dangerous foreigners. Not infrequently these critics claimed to have more information about the color problem than actually existed. I was astounded at the weird misconceptions of the nature and extent

of the color problem in America. It was not unusual to find well-educated persons thinking in terms of the problem as it existed perhaps fifty years ago, making generalizations about the whole of the United States that were true only regionally.

IT SHOULD be obvious, of course, that color is the biggest telling point in Communist propaganda against America. The revolution in Asia today takes different forms in different places, compounded generally of the struggle for freedom from outside domination, of the longing for basic justice and opportunity, of the so-far losing fight against disease and enfeeblement. But through it all runs something constant and powerful. It is the quest for self-respect, a revolution of pride. It is the deep determination to end the Age of Indignity. This is a mighty and growing natural force which the Communists are putting to their own use. Forget everything else the Communists are doing or saying about us in their propaganda. Forget for the moment about the charges of atomic diplomacy, warmongering, aggression, and all the other stereotyped nonsense. All this is easily enough answered. The one argument we have yet to meet effectively is the one that touches Asian peoples where they are most sensitive and where they have a personal sense of involvement: *color*.

I should have been very much sur-

prised, for example, if there was no direct connection between the patent pro-Soviet feeling of the Lahore student and his mountainous resentment against America on color grounds. One might suppose that the natural antagonism between Communism and the deeply felt religion of the Moslems would act as a bar to Communist propaganda activity. Yet in Pakistan I found a surprising disposition in some quarters to accept at face value many of the rosy interpretations of life and politics in the Soviet Union, with a corresponding tendency to believe the worst about America. Behind these attitudes was usually the conviction that the Soviet was the champion of equality while the United States was the global headquarters of race prejudice.

WHAT do we say when we are confronted with these attitudes and arguments? In my own case, during the early part of my trip I think I made a serious mistake in attempting an answer. I think I was overly circumspect, overly cautious and diplomatic, overly concerned about stepping on sensitive toes. After a while, however, I realized I would have to be completely direct and blunt, almost to the point of seeming militant. By the time I got to Lahore I was pretty well tuned up for the challenge.

I began my reply by saying that, certainly, race prejudice exists in

the United States and is a serious problem here. Having said that, it was important to make a distinction between the problem as it actually existed and the problem as presented by Soviet propaganda and as generally reported in the press, not excluding the influential *Times* of Pakistan. The condition of the American Negro was bad enough, but it did not even remotely resemble the deliberate exaggerations and distortions that were concocted for propaganda purposes and that were, unfortunately, so widely accepted.

YES, race prejudice existed, I said, but did the students suppose that nothing was being done about it? Did they know anything about the work of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People under Walter White, a Negro himself and one of the most respected and influential American citizens? Were they familiar with the reports of the NAACP, which clearly indicated that greater progress had been made in the past fifteen years than in the previous fifty?

Were they aware of inspiring advances which indicated that America was well on its way toward eliminating the evil of segregation? A slow but steady integration was taking place—without widespread violence. Educational opportunities were increasingly in evidence. Many states had prescribed penalties against job

discrimination on racial grounds. The hideous denial of the ballot box to colored American citizens was being abolished. In town after town throughout the South, Negroes were being elected and appointed to public office. Old taboos against Negroes in professional sports were practically extinct. The nation's finest prize fighters were Negroes. In baseball the man who was probably the most popular player in the game today was a Negro. In literature, science, philosophy, religion, music, the dance, Negroes were making outstanding contributions and enjoying the esteem of fellow Americans.

Now this progress wasn't fast enough or deep enough—admittedly—and it could never be fast enough to suit many millions of Americans who were aware of the challenge and who had been working for many years to meet it and who would not be content until it was completely solved. But the important thing was that they *were* at work on it, that historic progress was being made.

THE important thing, too, was that the Government itself was not a party to the crime or the party behind the crime, as happened in Germany with respect to race and religious prejudice under Nazism. Indeed, the executive branch of the American Government had been in the role of prodder to get action by Congress and the states in removing racial barriers.

BUT the problem of prejudice, I went on, was not a uniquely American problem. It was a human problem. It existed inside people. It was the problem of inferiority and superiority. It was that corrupting and corroding experience that took place inside a person when he arrogated to himself certain privileges that he denied to others on the basis of what he liked to think were nature's own laws. I was deeply disheartened, for example, by the prejudice and discrimination I had seen on the Indian subcontinent. In the leading hotels of Bombay, owned and operated by Indians, was posted the sign "South Africans Not Admitted." Among Indians themselves, I frequently found discrimination according to color and caste as severe as any I had observed in the United States. National laws had been passed against the inequities of untouchability, yet many of the evils persisted. What was worse, many of the untouchables were willing parties to the social contract of prejudice.

In Pakistan, and I hoped that those present would correct me if I was wrong, I had found evidence of religious intolerance and prejudice. This was nothing official, so far as either state or theology was concerned, but it was there just the same. There was an unfortunate attitude of superiority of religion that inevitably made for prejudice. So far

as minorities were concerned, there was a distinct prejudice against Sikhs.

I BROUGHT this up not by way of admonition, nor even by way of using the glass-house theory to obtain immunity from criticism. I brought this up only by way of indicating that the problem of prejudice knew no national boundaries. To a large extent it was a common problem. Perhaps all peoples working together inside the United Nations might be able to contribute to the self-understanding that would have to go into the making of any basic attack on the problem of prejudice—racial, social, religious, economic, political. Perhaps such a common effort might be more constructive than the destructive and often ill-informed criticism that served only to enlarge misunderstanding and therefore prejudice.

This was my attempt at an answer that would be neither apologetic nor self-righteous. I was gratified by the response of the students, especially when it led to a friendly postlecture discussion with the student who had asked the question in the first place. He said he was satisfied with the answer but felt that we were at fault for not making our story known all over the world.

There was certainly no argument about that.

A CALL TO MILITANT FAITH

By WILBUR LAROE, JR., *Washington attorney and past Moderator of the General Assembly.*

I AM convinced that in the face of this world-wide tragedy Protestantism is singularly weak and ineffective. Charles Clayton Morrison is right when he says that Protestantism is lost among the magnitude of this day in much the same way as Trinity Church is lost among the skyscrapers of Wall Street. I can say confidently after thirty-seven years on the Washington scene that the voice of Protestantism is so weak that it is barely heard on Capitol Hill, while the voice of Roman Catholicism is not only heard but respected.

Our laymen are dangerously complacent and most of our ministers are too conventional in their preaching. As a general rule I do not believe that our pulpits are ringing out with a fresh call to our people to gird their loins for battle. I know of nothing more important in this hour than for our ministers to preach with the utmost sense of urgency, as if the world were on fire, which in fact it is.

The first step to be taken in social education and action is for our ministers to use their pulpits as platforms to send out a ringing challenge to their people to stop their complacency and swing into action.

The laymen are more at fault than the ministers. Dr. Elton Trueblood says that Protestant laymen look more like spectators than disciples. Another writer insults Protestant laymen by calling them *saltless*—could there be a worse adjective to apply to a disciple? The average layman takes his church membership in much the same way that he takes membership in Rotary or Kiwanis. That is to say, he does not look upon his church membership as enlistment in a mighty cause. There is all the difference in the world between church membership and *discipleship*.

I had rather see a little church of twenty flaming disciples than a church of six hundred comfortable spectators who merely sit in pews and sing hymns.

Christian Attitudes

We start with the basic proposition that progress in the field of social education and action depends on the extent to which church members really accept Christ. Once Jesus becomes real to us, all our attitudes change. Even our thinking changes. Life takes on a different color when Christ takes command.

The Christian gospel is dynamic, which means that it is packed with

power. Power for what? Power to upset things, power to change hate into love, power to change a warlike attitude into a peace-loving attitude, power to change a shattered home into a shrine where love reigns, power to change proud master into humble servant.

The never-ending and discouraging task of the minister is to try to remake his people and make them more sensitive to the things of Christ. It is the insensitiveness and spiritual callousness of laymen that makes so difficult the world's progress toward the cross. A nationally known minister said, "I have stopped preaching about liquor because it just causes critical looks on the faces of my hearers."

The Christian gospel openly and fearlessly challenges the ways of the world. It is apt to cause not only critical looks but scorn, and even violent hatred. It was this last that caused Jesus to be led to the cross. Indeed there is nothing that hurts Christianity today more than the complacency and the comfortable conformity of the average church member.

One thing is sure: the man whose attitude causes him to support the *status quo* cannot possibly be a Christian for the simple reason that the *status quo* includes war, race prejudice, betrayal of public trust, an appalling liquor traffic, and a social waste of twenty billion dollars a year in gambling. The attitude of resist-

ance to social change is necessarily an unchristian attitude.

Hatred Among Men and Nations

A first task of the Church of Jesus Christ is to work toward better relations between men and nations. Two very significant developments have taken place in this area recently: (1) The epochal speech of Senator Brien McMahon in September showing how armaments can be reduced and military expenditures curtailed (*The Christian Century*, October 3 and 10). (2) The timely report by Secretary-General Trygve Lie pointing out the danger of reliance on regional pacts if the United Nations is to be effective—a report full of Christian implications (*The New York Times*, October 12).

A group in every local church should study Senator McMahon's speech and the Secretary-General's report.

There are other things the local church can do to improve international relations. Recently in Utica I found that under the auspices of the Utica Council of Churches families throughout the city are "adopting" church families in Europe. Even the Utica school children are exchanging letters with children across the seas.

Resolutions and letters are also of great importance. A letter emanating from a church group and addressed to a Senator, for example, always has an effect. Suppose a Senator finds on his desk a letter praising

him for some Christian stand he has taken, or a resolution criticizing him for some wrong stand. In either case he will be impressed. The average Senator really gets excited when he gets a letter starting this way, "I regret to inform you that our whole group is disappointed with your stand on," etc. This will make him scratch his head and think, for it means votes.

Act now—

1. Write to the Secretary-General, United Nations, New York, N. Y., for a copy of his Sixth Annual Report.

2. Have your group study the report with special reference to arriving at an understanding of the tremendous accomplishments of the United Nations.

3. Send a letter or resolution to Honorable Trygve Lie expressing your group's appreciation of his splendid contribution to the cause of international understanding and world peace.

4. In your contacts with other people do not belittle the United Nations but call attention to the fact that in six short years it has really accomplished wonders.

5. In your various church groups pray for the success of the United Nations.

Race Relations

Our treatment of the Negro is hurting our relations with peoples

in other nations. On September 24 one of our fine American newspaper writers interviewed some statesmen of India to ascertain why India seems to lean in some respects more in the direction of Communist China and Communist Russia than in the direction of the West. One statesman answered that the United States is too reactionary. When she asked for an explanation of "reactionary" she was told that India cannot understand the lynching of Negroes and other race prejudice in the United States.

I hang my head in shame when I realize that the two worst places for race prejudice in the whole world are British South Africa and "Christian" United States of America.

Here are steps that can be taken to solve the race relations problem wherever it arises:

1. In your personal conversation and in your teaching take the firm stand that there is nothing more unfair in the whole world than to judge a man by the color of his skin.

2. Make sure that adequate programs for the study of race relations are available in your church.

3. Take affirmative action whenever an issue concerning race relations arises in your community.

4. Write the Division of Social Education and Action, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., for suggestions as to concrete projects and materials for a program of action.

The Economic Challenge

So heavy is the burden of armament that our nation faces a very difficult economic problem. Already the value of the dollar has been cut nearly in half. When life insurance policies and the savings of our people represent such a substantial part of our total economy, the amount of the Government's indebtedness coupled with the constant decline in the purchasing power of the dollar causes thoughtful people to wonder what the ultimate effect will be.

Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut is pointing the way to what he considers to be a solution of the problem. In a notable speech on the floor of the U. S. Senate he made a plea for cutting in half the amount of our military expenditures, which he claims can be done without reducing our military strength.

We are hardly in a position to appraise at this time the merit of Senator McMahon's proposal. *The Christian Century* apparently favors it and believes that Senator McMahon's statesmanship may save us from economic collapse and military ruin.

It is incumbent upon church groups to study the matter, obtaining a copy of Senator McMahon's speech and copies of *The Christian Century* of October 3 and 10, 1951.

The Ravages of Liquor

The liquor traffic is eating like a cancer into the body of America.

The waste is enormous—ten billion dollars per year. This is three times the cost of our public-school system. If God expects us to be good stewards of the money he has placed in our hands, is it not a certainty that he must be angry with us for throwing away billions that might be spent in building churches and in other welfare projects?

The waste in souls is even greater. It is estimated that thirty thousand men and women become inebriates every year. This is the equivalent of a medium-sized city lost every year to alcohol.

The question often arises as to whether social drinking is a sin. That is a matter for the conscience of every individual, but there is no escape from the fact that what is spent in social drinking is part of the ten-billion-dollar waste. Nor is there any escape from the conclusion that many men and women who start with social drinking, considering it to be harmless, later find that they are dangerously addicted to the alcohol habit.

We Christians must not surrender on this issue. We can make our excuses and our justifications, but the fact remains that liquor is doing great damage to the soul of America.

Gambling

Gambling takes even a greater toll than liquor. The wastage is estimated at twenty billion dollars a year, or twice the wastage caused by liquor.

But again the economic loss is not the worst part. Through the Ke-fauver investigation and otherwise we now have irrefutable proof of the dangerous tie-in between the gamblers and the police. There is actually a breakdown in law enforcement in some of our great metropolitan areas, with literally millions of dollars paid in bribes. The so-called numbers racket runs into millions of dollars, most of it taken from low-paid workers who can ill afford the loss.

The moral wrong in gambling lies in the fact that God expects each one of us to make a contribution to the total social good. The gambler seeks to obtain compensation without rendering any service in return.

Gambling is a despicable business, to be fought to the limit.

Betrayal of Public Trust

In recent years there has been a marked and serious decline in the morality of some of our public officials. Bribery is increasingly common. We have received reports of tax officials who are on the payrolls of the very concerns whose taxes they are supposed to pass upon.

While most of the publicity relates to Federal office holders, the real danger lies at the "grass roots."

There is urgent need for a political house cleaning in a majority of American communities. We may not logically expect that morality at the Federal level will be one iota higher

than morality at the local level.

Protestantism's weak impact on government is due to our lack of political acumen. We Protestants dislike politics, and we shun political office. As a result local governments all over the United States are coming under the control of cheap politicians who are close to the liquor and gambling interests.

Church groups in our local communities have a clear duty to see to it that honest people with clear Christian insights are elected to public office. They should be studying local and national problems. No progress is possible until an issue is understood.

Protestants should get the habit of writing letters and resolutions and bombarding officials with them. Almost any Christian letter or resolution is worth a three-cent stamp. Personal conferences with mayors, police, and other public officials are of great value. Churchmen ought to try to get material into the local press, and get editors to write editorials agreeing with them if they dare!

And we cannot leave prayer out. At all times we must have the feeling that we are doing God's work, and pray for his guidance. It never fails. Social education and action is not a mere accompaniment of evangelism, but the very essence of it. For "faith without works is dead," and social education and action is the *works* of our faith.

"I HATE EVERY ONE OF THEM"

By LARRY JACK WONG, *student at McCormick Seminary.*

Prize-winning speech in the national collegiate oratory contest at Northwestern University.

I STAND before you tonight deeply perplexed and somewhat afraid. The country of my citizenship is at war with the country of my race. America is again mobilizing for all-out war. Industrial plants have been reconverted to war production. The adoption of UMT is being urged upon us. Many of us and our friends will be called to military service. Even the current successes in Korea are dimmed by the suspicion that peace with China or Russia is all but a futile hope.

Tonight I speak because I am afraid. I fear the storm of conflict may snuff out the light of our respect for the individual—a respect that is basic in our democracy.

I didn't have this fear during World War II. In fact, it was quite a different situation on that Monday morning in August, 1944, when I stood nervously in front of the recruiting officer's desk. "So you want to join the Navy, eh, son?" he barked. "O.K., go over to that table and fill out these forms!" A strange feeling came over me as I sat there filling out the forms. For the first time in my life I had a sense of individuality. I actually counted . . . I was a person . . . I belonged!

It wasn't like that during my boyhood in Fresno, California. At that time Dad was both father and mother to us boys because Mom had to remain in China. We often spent our evenings together around the old porch swing. Somehow, in the course of our chats, Dad nearly always got around to the subject of our future in the United States. I can still hear his husky, deliberate voice saying: "Son, we are Orientals living in a white man's country. There are two strikes against us in every walk of life. There is no such thing as equality for us who have a darker skin."

Dad's conviction roused a constant conflict in our thinking because in school we were taught that we were living in a democracy with equality and justice for all men. We were taught in church and in Sunday school that regardless of creed or color we are all children of a common God. But this conflict grew up with us. I remember one summer evening when a group of us wanted to go skating in the downtown rink, but were refused admission because we were Orientals. Similar experiences confronted me again and again during my boyhood. Such things were not at all pleasant; we were caught

between two cultures and felt frustrated at every turn.

Thus, when I turned seventeen during World War II, it didn't take much to persuade me to try something new. My older brother was already a top sergeant in the Army, and most of the fellows in the neighborhood had either enlisted or had been drafted. I wasn't too certain that I could get in, but like most of the fellows going in now, I didn't have much to lose, so I decided to try at least. Oddly enough, it was in the Navy recruiting office where I had my first glimpse of respect for the individual.

LIFE in the Navy was far from being ideal, but it gave me a vital sense of importance because I was treated as a person! Sure, I had to take orders, but I was given the same opportunities as the rest. I gained confidence in others and my self-consciousness began to fade. It was then I realized what it is to be accepted as an individual.

Shortly after the surrender of Japanese forces I returned to civilian citizenship with a new outlook. I enrolled in Manchester College in Indiana. The congenial family atmosphere of this small Christian college helped me to grow more rapidly as an individual. In fact, it did such a wonderful job that I came to take many things for granted. It may be that I was blinded by our "ivory tower" to the realities of life. If so,

the illusion was indeed temporary.

An explosive reality rudely awakened me last summer when war again broke out in Korea. The jolt was even greater when Communist China entered the struggle. I should have known what to expect. I should have remembered that the individual becomes very insignificant on the battlefield—that bullets inscribed "to whom it may concern" express little of good will or love. I should have recognized that it is not easy to hold back hatred and a desire for revenge when close buddies fall and relatives are reported missing.

Pfc. Charles Edward Bell, of Savannah, Georgia, discovered all this with a vengeance. The content of the letter written to his mother would be typical of the reports from many soldiers out there. "We lost lots of guys," he wrote. "We were about ten miles from the Manchurian border when they hit. We didn't think the Chinks were even in it. But they are. I hate EVERY ONE OF THEM. I wish the U.S. would use the A-bomb on them."

I HATE EVERY ONE OF THEM!" Doesn't that also include my mother and me? I cannot escape the fact that although my father and I are United States citizens, my mother is not. I am here, but she is still in China. Although my citizenship and loyalty have changed, my heritage cannot change. It has been all too easy for many of us to forget what

happened to the Japanese-Americans during World War II, the indiscriminate hatred and the internment of relocation camps. **EVERY ONE OF THOSE** Japanese-Americans was hated. We branded loyal American citizens with the hatred we were taught to have for enemies.

When I was in the Navy in 1944, I thought that being an American citizen in the service of my country would protect me from ever being labeled a Chink or just another Red. But today on another page of history, the war against Red China is threatening to take away the very freedom that we fought to protect in the war against Japan. I am no longer living under an illusion. War really destroys individual freedom; it does not insure it.

Consider the plight of a fellow Chinese-American, Mrs. Oscar Lee, in Fresno, California. She too received a letter, not from her son in Korea with the 7th Infantry Division, but from Washington, D.C. You may know how this letter reads. "My dear Mrs. Lee: We regret to inform you. . . ." I wonder if this mother, who has sacrificed her son, is also in danger of losing the freedom which her citizenship and her son's sacrifice guaranteed her? "I hate **EVERY ONE OF THEM!**" Was Sgt. Raymond Lee hated too?

IF ALL Chinese are hated, I wonder what my status will be six months from now. Will I be shipped off to a

relocation camp? Will the man at the factory look at my record or the color of my skin when I apply for a job? Sure, I am afraid—afraid that the right of every loyal American to be considered an individual will be taken away from me.

But tonight you have given me hope. You have confirmed that I can be an individual. Yes, the light is here, tonight. But can this light of respect for the individual penetrate to the farthest corners of the country even in the face of mounting darkness, so that Mrs. Lee and my buddies in the service, and my friends at the University of California or at the University of Wisconsin, or here at Northwestern, can maintain their identity as individuals? Can it avoid being snuffed out by the mounting casualty lists and the blinding rush of war propaganda, so that I and all Chinese-Americans everywhere no longer need be haunted by this fear of mass hatred?

The source of power lies with the people—all the people. It lies with you. We simply ask that the beams of coolheaded thinking shall not be denied part of the people indiscriminately. We suggest that we expose, once and for all, the cancerous nature of this too familiar theme, "I hate **EVERY ONE OF THEM!**" We ask only to look toward the future with ever greater hope as we are allowed to continue our walk in the free citizenship of our common country.

PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION THREATENS AMERICA

IF CONGRESS adopts the universal military training legislation * in January, the conscript boy will, after the first six months of military training, be required to "volunteer" for:

- A four-year term in the regular armed forces; or
- An extra six months to complete certain technical courses; and or
- The Ready Reserve, subject to quick call by the President for emergency action (Korea). He will go into an organized reserve unit of the Ready Reserve, training regularly for three years, and then be eligible for Standby Reserve. There he will be subject to call only upon declaration of war by Congress. Or
- Go into and stay in the Ready Reserve for seven and a half years, subject to immediate call as an individual.

The essential features of the European system of conscription are all here in the plan reported out by the National Security Commission. After 150 years of operation in Europe, this system has contributed to the reduction of that once happy land to a shambles. The free political and economic institutions have been destroyed or undermined; and a once proud, free people would have fallen into total bondage had it not been for the strength of America—a land free from the regimentation and militarization of conscription.

This is a time of decision for America and the world. Every citizen must become informed on this gravest of issues and vigilantly maintain communication with the President of the United States, his Senators and Representatives. Everyone must exert a responsible influence on his neighbors on these issues. Never forget that UMT will not provide one more soldier for the present emergency! The present Selective Service system now in operation provides the men for the armed forces. The proposal is that we now trust America to a permanent military system of conscription that will control the future of all U. S. boys during eight of the most critical and formative years of their lives.

The Division has prepared a packet of resource materials on this critical issue. Send 25 cents today for your packet.

* See *U. S. News & World Report*, November 2, 1951, and *The New York Times*, October 29, 1951.

to Faith

PRONOUNCEMENTS AGAINST UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING MADE BY GENERAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A., 1946-1951

(1946) "[It] is an evidence of the folly of the 'military science' which is so dominant in this country. . . . The adoption of compulsory military training in peacetime would certainly further aggravate the very situation from which we strive to be free."

(1947) "We reaffirm our historic position of opposition to peacetime military conscription as constituting a dangerous extension of regimentation by government, an inadequate measure of defense in an atomic age, and a violation . . . of our present determination to secure the multilateral reduction of arms and armies. . . . Your committee therefore recommends:

"1. That General Assembly reaffirm its opposition to the establishment of compulsory military training during peacetime."

(1948) "We believe the most ominous present threat to freedom and the peace of the world lies in the militarization of the nations. The United States, as the leading world power, should take bold steps to reverse such a trend. To date, our national tendency has been to fall in with and to accentuate rather than to retard this trend. . . . We go on record as opposing compulsory military training and the use of the draft in peacetime. We reaffirm the historic position of our Church . . . [on] peacetime military conscription."

(1949) "It is imperative that the crass militarization of our nation . . . be checked now. We believe the multilateral reduction and control of armaments through the United Nations should be vigorously and continuously sought. We reaffirm our opposition to any form of Universal Military Training or Peacetime Conscription. . . . There is genuine peril that our own defense measures may precipitate the very war we fear, and that our free economy will be crushed beneath the intolerable burden of armaments."

(1951) "We would remind the Church of our repeated opposition to permanent conscription, and commend a constant scrutiny of our military development program by competent civilians.

"The Church must continually put forward those curative and creative plans, which are inherent in the Christian faith, and which are the only final answer to the proposals of Communism."

—Paul Newton Poling

PENN'S PEOPLE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By ROBERT C. FOLWELL, III, *Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Branch, American Civil Liberties Union.*

LEGISLATION through fear" is becoming a threat to the responsible operation of America's lawmaking bodies. In Pennsylvania as elsewhere, the impact of the cold war and the Korean crisis has created an atmosphere of fear, in which "antisubversive" and "loyalty" proposals have been nurtured.

But for nearly ten months during the longest legislative session in the history of the state Pennsylvania's citizens have this year been able to hold off passage of a "state loyalty program." The story of the Pechan Bill can be a lesson for everyone who cherishes the good old American habits of free discussion, a fair hearing, and the right of men to be considered innocent until they are proven guilty.

In the opening days of the 1951 legislative session at Harrisburg, members of both political parties were sponsoring "antisubversive" measures—some because they wanted a political weapon against opponents and ideas they disliked, and others merely because they were anxious to demonstrate their "anti-Communism." Few would claim that these measures were needed for se-

curity reasons or to deal with espionage or treason; they were aimed primarily at ideas and teachers and campuses.

A "loyalty oath bill" sponsored by the American Legion and introduced by Senator Albert R. Pechan, of Ford City, quickly became the chosen instrument. It received the blessing of nearly all the veterans groups and was soon readied for a trial run in the Senate.

At first it seemed doubtful that any sizable opposition to the Pechan Bill could be mustered. Suspicion and intolerance were abroad in the state. A leading Pittsburgh citizen had been attacked as "subversive" and forced out of office during a political tug of war. A number of alleged Communists had lost jobs. Their families had been threatened and even forced to move out of Pittsburgh during a series of sensational newspaper stories by a former Communist in the employ of the FBI. Indiscriminate use of red paint had been a major feature of the 1949 municipal elections in Philadelphia and of the 1950 gubernatorial elections.

For several weeks the public re-

mained completely uninformed about the provisions of the Pechan Bill, and few understood the damage such a bill could do. Early versions of the measure required all public employees, schoolteachers, and professors in state-aided universities to take a purgatory oath denying association with organizations to be listed by the state attorney general. Later amendments provided for the establishment of 2,400 local "un-American committees." Every local school board and appointing authority would be empowered to investigate and fire employees or teachers upon a "reasonable doubt" of their loyalty. Each would determine its own rules or procedure and its own definitions of loyalty.

One obvious effect of the bill would be to undermine completely the protections of the teachers' tenure act and the state civil service. Freedom to discuss and speak one's beliefs would likewise be a casualty, for no professor or teacher could know in advance what his superior might consider grounds for a "reasonable doubt" of loyalty. Worse still, any past opinions or associations could become evidence.

Opposition Gets Under Way

During the first month of the legislative session, alarm began to be expressed in various parts of Pennsylvania, but most civic leaders and educators, feeling very much alone in their opposition, were counseling

a "hands off" policy. First to meet the challenge with action was a small group of public-school teachers, the Philadelphia Teachers Union. In January this group hired a secretary and began an informational campaign by mail to educators and others. They provided copies of the bill and suggestions for action. The motives of these teachers were immediately questioned by more conservative leaders. The V.F.W. later stated publicly that it did not want teachers in the schools who opposed the loyalty bill.

As information became available a few scattered groups began to come out against the bill. Some church leaders and educators expressed their opposition. A statement was issued by former Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, Clarence Pickett, and several other eminent Pennsylvanians. Mail opposing the bill began to arrive in Harrisburg in quantity. Senator Pechan was moved to announce that "Communists, pinks, and fellow travelers were ganging up" on his bill.

The first major group to take up the cudgels was the Society of Friends (Quakers), whose ancestors had helped William Penn to launch his "holy experiment" in religious and political freedom. Convened in annual session in Philadelphia in March, the representatives of some 15,000 Quakers adopted a unanimous and moving statement against the bill.

The Senate Passes the Bill

Meanwhile the measure was being actively pushed by the veterans' lobbyists at Harrisburg. In spite of mounting opposition it was brought out of committee the latter part of March and pushed through the Senate by a vote of 42 to 7. Several of the forty-two Senators who voted for it were reported by the press to be opposed to the bill but unwilling to vote publicly against it. Others had been brought into line by slurs against their racial or religious background and innuendos that they could be expected to be opponents of a loyalty measure.

Passage by the Senate served to stir up latent opposition. A number of groups followed the Quaker action and the campaign began to broaden rapidly. The state AFL and CIO councils took a strong stand. The Philadelphia Presbytery publicly opposed the measure, followed by the Baptist Ministers Conference and other church groups. Social workers and civic groups began to move, as did Negro groups and Jewish groups. Similar opposition was developing in Pittsburgh sparked by the American Federation of Teachers.

And Opposition Grew and Grew!

Every organization of public and private school teachers was now on record against the bill. The state

affiliate of the National Education Association, with 50,000 teacher members in Pennsylvania, failed to implement its opposition during much of the campaign, but the American Federation of Teachers (AFL), with several locals across the state, actively opposed the bill throughout the spring and summer.

Sentiment developed rapidly in nearly all of the state's eighty-odd colleges and universities. A group of scientists and professors quietly mailed a statement to several campuses without publicity or personal contact. When their message was delivered to the legislature and the press, it had been signed by over three hundred of their colleagues. Within a month every Pennsylvania chapter of the American Association of University Professors had taken action against the bill. Faculty councils at the four state-aided universities where the oath would be applied—the University of Pittsburgh, Temple University, Pennsylvania State College, and the University of Pennsylvania—were urging their presidents to speak. Student petition campaigns made campus opposition nearly unanimous.

Nearly a thousand citizens attended a rally against the bill organized in April by the new Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union and chaired by Earl G. Harrison, leading Presbyterian and former U.S. Commissioner of Immigration. Harrison presented out-

standing speakers as well as messages from several of Pennsylvania's leading citizens, including four college presidents, the president of the Federal Reserve Bank, the president of the State Bar Association, and former U. S. Senator George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania's "elder statesman."

Everybody Read the Bulletin!

The state's two largest newspapers, *The Evening Bulletin* and the *Inquirer*, of Philadelphia, were by now editorializing against the bill, and were later joined by the state's third largest, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. At Harrisburg the House State Government Committee now considering the bill received a record volume of mail. The insistent demand was for public hearings and defeat of the bill.

Worried by the turn of events and anxious to avoid a public hearing where the opposition could show its strength, Senator Pechan announced that the "Communist line" was to call for a public hearing "so they can start a riot." He then invited the presidents of the four state-aided universities to a private hearing in an effort to divide the opposition.

The state commanders of the veterans groups were called in to help to change the educators' minds, but all four—Milton Eisenhower of Penn State, Rufus Fitzgerald of Pittsburgh, Provost Millard Gladfelter of Temple, and Harold Stassen of

Pennsylvania—submitted statements and spoke against the bill.

This hearing had a marked and sobering effect on the legislature and although Senator Pechan proceeded to amend the college professors out of the bill, it was generally conceded that the measure was dead.

Then time began to work in favor of the bill. The legislature recessed for a month, campuses closed down for the summer, organizations slowed for vacations, and the Pechan Bill was forgotten.

A Bow to Veterans

Meanwhile Governor John S. Fine had managed to alienate a portion of his own party, and his tax program was deadlocked in the Senate, where it was to remain for at least five more months in an unprecedented legislative stalemate. Hard pressed for legislation that he could call his own, the governor apparently decided to plump for the Pechan Bill in return for whatever help the veterans could give on his tax bills. Toward the end of July he addressed the state conventions of the American Legion, the V.F.W., and the Amvets, devoting much of his messages to denunciations of Communism and demands for a "state loyalty program" (the Pechan Bill).

The midsummer marching and cheering sessions relighted the "loyalty" torch, and the cause was carried back to the local veterans posts. Several central Pennsylvania

American Legion groups adopted a resolution calling for an investigation of subversive activities at Penn State. For the first time the House State Government Committee began to receive mail favoring the Pechan Bill. Legislators again looked with favor on the bill, and opposing groups renewed their efforts to revive the spring campaign.

Under fire from both sides, the committee chairman waited until mid-August, then called a public hearing on five days' notice. Again the response was a stunning surprise to the "loyalty" men. Over fifty local and state-wide groups appeared to oppose the bill. People forgot the hot weather and descended on Harrisburg from all parts of the state. Over four hundred spectators jammed the hearing room and every opposition speaker was roundly applauded. Earl G. Harrison, spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union, and Richardson Dilworth, Philadelphia city treasurer, both received ovations for their vigorous restatements of America's traditional freedoms. The committee chairman promptly limited the hearing to two hours and allotted half the time to the handful of veterans' spokesmen favoring the bill.

Again the legislature went home for a month's recess over the tax deadlock, and the Pechan Bill was again forgotten by all but the veterans' lobbyists. Testimony and statements from the hearing were

promptly locked up by the committee chairman. They never saw the light of day again.

Forced Vote in Committee

Shortly after the legislature's return in September the state Government Committee was convened on a five minute notice and forced to vote on the Pechan Bill. The deputy attorney general beat down an hour-long revolt in the committee, and a 15 to 12 vote finally brought the measure to the House floor. This was a bitter surprise to the House leaders of both parties as well as to the groups opposing the bill. All had been cleverly led to understand that the bill would be held in committee for study of the voluminous testimony submitted at the hearing.

For a third time the embattled citizens of the state received emergency calls to action. Dozens of phone calls to the House leadership from prominent citizens obtained a delay in action until the following week. Representatives of state-wide groups went to work at Harrisburg again and small delegations began to arrive. Wires and letters of protest poured in. By the middle of the following week an agreement to recommit the bill to committee by voice vote was secured from both majority and minority caucuses, but this was forestalled by the threat of a roll call demand by several members.

Realizing that a majority of the legislators would not support the

bill if their vote was recorded, the bill's proponents were thoroughly alarmed. An emergency call to nearby veterans' posts brought in a mass lobby next day, and these men spent several hours cajoling friendly representatives and openly threatening opposing members.

The hardest pill for the veterans to swallow was the opposition of the House majority leader, who represented a wealthy, conservative Philadelphia constituency which had been outstanding in its opposition to the bill. In an effort to deal with this man the deputy attorney general marshaled a group of veterans in the governor's office, where they gave the majority leader a thorough verbal drubbing. As the debate on recommitment began, veterans filled most of the observers' chairs on three sides of the House. Loud remarks about "yellow" and "pink" legislators were clearly audible to members of the floor. The old atmosphere of hysteria had been revived and reason no longer prevailed.

The roll call for recommitment was 49 in favor—a courageous minority of Democrats and a few Republicans—and 115 opposed. Several members left the floor rather than vote at all. Next day members had begun to leave for a further two-month recess, and the bill's proponents could not muster the necessary 105 favorable votes for passage. Thus the final struggle over House passage and Senate concurrence was post-

poned until December 10 when the legislature will return once more to deal with the tax compromise.

Meanwhile the V.F.W. state commander has declared the week of December 2 to 8 a "loyalty" week, during which each of his 800 posts in the state will "canvass" their legislators. At the same time, the Amvets have called for a march on Harrisburg on December 10, the day the legislature returns.

But a spirit of outraged decency is rising across Pennsylvania as it did in spring—this time with a sense of grim determination. Many of the labor, educational, and church groups are already at work preparing for December 10. Thousands of copies of the bill and analyses of its provisions are being circulated. Hundreds of churches, clubs, and lodges are planning debates and forums on the bill. State-wide informational mail campaigns are being planned.

If the Pechan Bill does finally become law in December, it will be in spite of the opposition of great numbers of informed citizens. The year-long campaign against the bill will still have been infinitely worthwhile, for here Americans are learning to combat "legislation through fear" with cold facts and with calm, determined action. Nor will "loyalty" men have clear sailing in attempting to enforce the witch-hunting law they have devised, for there will be strong support for test cases and court invalidation of the act.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

Citizenship

Universal Military Service and Training—Shortly after the adjournment of Congress in October the National Security Training Commission sent up its long-awaited report setting forth detailed plans for a permanent system of military training.

The plan would require all physically and mentally fit young men to take six continuous months of rigorous military training and then go into a reserve unit for a period of seven and a half years. The youths would enter in monthly classes, soon after reaching their eighteenth birthday, provided they had completed their high school studies, but at any rate not later than their twentieth year.

Other significant high lights of the plan are: (1) All trainers for the youths would be in addition to the regular armed forces, so as not to weaken the Army, Navy, and Air Force. They would include regulars, reserves, and civilians. (2) Conscientious objectors would be handled as under the new draft law. Those opposed on religious grounds to combatant training and service would be given noncombatant training, and those objecting even to this would be called for some type of civilian work. (3) Trainees would get a free Government \$10,000 life insurance policy during their active service and the benefits of the Federal Employees Compensation Act. They would not be entitled to veterans benefits under the Commission plan. (4) Several proposals are included to protect the morals of the trainees. It would be illegal to set up a brothel within a "reasonable" distance of a UMT camp. Existing regula-

tions governing intoxicating beverages would apply to trainees. In addition no beer would be sold at a UMT camp or UMT area of a post. Taverns and bars around such posts would be "off limits" to trainees.

The National Security Training Commission, which issued the report, would be a permanent body and would supervise the program once it started. The Commission members are Hon. James. W. Wadsworth, former Republican Senator and Congressman, chairman; Dr. Karl Compton, former president of M. I. T.; former Assistant Secretary of State William Clayton; Admiral Thomas C. Kincaid (Ret.); and Lieut. Gen. Raymond McLain, comptroller of the Army.

The Defense Department has estimated that UMT would cost a little over four billion dollars during the first full year of operation and something over two billion dollars annually thereafter.

Under legislation passed at the last session of Congress, this plan must be considered by the Senate and House Armed Services Committees in January and brought automatically to both Houses for a vote—probably sometime in March.

Members of the Commission have expressed hope that Congress, the President, and the Department of Defense will combine to get a limited universal military training program going by midsummer of 1952, calling up 60,000 youths of eighteen. When the program is in full swing, about 800,000 per year will be inducted.

Members of the Senate Armed Services Committee have announced that they will urge that universal military training be

made the first order of business when Congress returns in January.

Editor's note: While Congressional committees must report some kind of bill, Congress is under no obligation to adopt it. They can reject it. UMT is not yet the law of the land. Write your Congressmen now. It would also be strategic to telephone or call upon your Senators and Representatives while they are on home base in this recess period. The General Assembly has consistently declared against peacetime universal military training. The selective service act which is still operating can call up and train new members of the armed services as they are needed for national defense and for the fighting forces of the United Nations.

Vatican Appointment—Probably the most stunning news on the political and legislative fronts in many a day was the announcement on the last day of the Congressional session of the President's appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. National reaction has been quick and sure. Within a week after the news broke, upward of 5,000 protests had been received at the White House. Protestant churches across the country were mobilizing to protest legislative approval of the action.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., sent the following telegram to the President on October 21: *"I wish to protest most vigorously your action in appointing an ambassador to the Vatican. Such official diplomatic recognition of one Church by our Government is deliberately to flout the expressed wishes and deeply held convictions of most Protestants. This protest is both personal and on behalf of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."*

Strategy on the legislative front is con-

templated in two directions. *First*, an effort will be made to block the appointment of General Clark; and, *secondly*, a defense is being prepared against the designation of any other appointee.

A law of 1870 prohibits an active military man from serving in a diplomatic post. When Congress reconvenes, the Armed Services Committee will have to consider a bill to waive this requirement. It is anticipated that this will not be easily accomplished. However, if it should receive affirmative action, Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has served notice that he will appoint a subcommittee to hold prolonged hearings on the question of actual confirmation of the position.

In view of the fact that 1952 is an election year and that Congress will be working toward the earliest possible adjournment it is more than likely that the issue will never reach the Senate floor.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—Officials of this agency have set \$30,000,000 as the amount required to carry on its planned program for 1952. A relatively small part of this total would be used for the feeding programs that formerly characterized the Fund's major work and that at its peak of operation took in a total of 8,000,000 children.

In line with the agency's trend toward long-term rather than emergency assistance only about \$4,500,000 would be spent for feeding projects. These are in Latin America and in the Middle East. In reports to Congress it has been estimated that \$6,000,000 would be needed for emergency projects such as supplies for Korean children and help for Palestine refugees. Another \$8,700,000 would be required for campaigns against childhood diseases, \$3,500,000 for child health services, and additional sums for training local medical personnel, antituberculosis drives, and administrative expenses.

Twenty-five nations have jointly supplied the Children's Fund with about \$2,000,000 since last January, but it is anticipated that the United States' contributions will continue to be the main source of income. As we go to press, a United States appropriation of \$5,570,000, granted last May but held up by technical difficulties, is expected to be made available momentarily.

For next year the Senate has approved a \$12,000,000 grant (November SOCIAL PROGRESS, p. 27). However, the House Foreign Affairs Committee has refused to report out the bill, and it is known that it faces rough sledding.

Ethics in government—A Senate subcommittee report on ethics in government (November SOCIAL PROGRESS, p. 27) was released in the closing days of the Congressional session. The report carried many recommendations for legislative action to bring about reforms and corrections and pointed out that such remedies were found to be necessary in the face of disclosures brought to light by various Congressional investigations.

The report states that "the moral standards of the country . . . provide the ethical environment which in turn conditions the standard of behavior of public officials." But it points out that "the standards of the public will be raised if leaders in public life practice vigorous integrity" and "they will be lowered if these leaders are lax in their personal or official behavior." "Administrators who lament the imperfection of human nature and suggest that nothing can be done except to try to get better men in government seem to be

ignorant of the power of leadership to set and maintain high standards in an organization, and that there is a responsibility for leadership to do so."

The report urges that a special commission be created, made up of representatives from every walk of life, to serve as a watchdog of official conduct. It also recommends legal enforcement and punishment of abuses. The churches have a large stake in this proposal.

Health—The first session of the 82d Congress voted to continue most Federal health programs at substantially the current levels. In addition to increasing the funds for the medical program of the Veterans Administration, Congress approved the following:

General public health	\$ 15,960,000
Hospital construction	182,500,000
Cancer research	19,500,000
Tuberculosis control	8,745,000
Venereal disease control	11,653,360
Communicable disease control	5,915,747
Medical research	15,500,000
Mental health activities	10,518,987
Heart research and control	10,000,000
Dental health activities	1,598,654

Congress also appropriated \$31,500,000 to the Children's Bureau for maternal and child health services, services for crippled children, and public child welfare services.

The Senate passed a bill authorizing increased Federal aid to the states to help to establish and maintain a nationwide network of full-time local health departments, but the bill has not been acted upon by the House.

Worth Looking Into

Youth Fellowship Kit, Vol. 9, The Westminster Press, \$3.00. Every phase of Christian social concern is dealt with in this fresh and vigorous guide for year-round programs for the young people of

our churches. Every one of the thirty-two program topics, beginning with No. 1 on "How to Listen to a Sermon" and encourage your minister to "preach the gospel boldly," carries some social impact and

helps youth to live their faith every day of their lives!

The *Kit* includes several topics on the problem of racial and religious prejudice—for the obvious reason that it is one of the great black blots on Christian America's human record. But the approaches to the problem are so completely new and vital that the groups that use them are bound to be vital too!

Topic No. 26, "Smeared," is a favorite of the *Kit* editor, Nevin Kendell, and of the staff of the SEA Division. It is the story of Americans who have been smeared in the current attack upon freedom of speech and thought.

Social education and action chairmen and secretaries will find many of the *Kit* topics easily adaptable for adult groups.

Human Relations in U.S. The Education-Recreation Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly is holding an all-day consultation on prejudice and discrimination December 5 to discuss ways of improving human relations in the United States. Some forty national organizations are expected to participate.

The announcement of the meeting notes that the proposal for the consultation "came about as an outgrowth of the Concern, at the recent White House Conference, with problems of racial, religious, and ethnic prejudice and discrimination." In the consultation member agencies will present their problems and supply data for general discussion from their own intergroup policies, practices, and programs.

Make Your Own Propaganda Detector—a scrapbook of headlines, advertisements, and editorials that seem to you to be biased or slanted toward one point of view.

Stop skimming through the news headlines and begin to watch what the copymen write into them. Clip front page headlines for two weeks. See how many times

they use the "scare" technique. Paste clippings in a large scrapbook (loose-leaf) and write under each headline the particular emotion it plays up—fear, hate, love.

Look for cartoons on the editorial pages of your home-town papers. Clip and paste them in your scrapbook. How are Russia, the people's Government of China, depicted? **Listen** for the comments of your friends and neighbors about the headlines they read.

As you work on your scrapbook collection keep in mind that most people in this country, even the Government officials and members of Congress who are making our country's laws and policies, are busy people. They can't and don't read all the things they ought to read; so they too depend on facts and ideas from outside sources—the press services, commentators, movies, TV. They have not been in China or Russia or Africa and know very little about the technical side of military matters.

All the modern ways of getting across ideas to millions of Americans have enormous influence and sobering responsibilities. To what extent are they living up to Christ's command, "If ye abide in my word, . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free"?

The UN: How and When It Works, another readable Headline Series pamphlet (No. 88), by Peter Kihss. An outstanding newspaperman who has covered UN headquarters for the *New York Herald Tribune* since 1946 reviews the workings of the United Nations, its organs and specialized agencies, and explains what they have done in recent international crises. In "the veto" and the seemingly endless debates in the Security Council, you will find much to reassure you about the accomplishments of the world's principal instrument for peace.

Order from the Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

Sanctuary

SERVICE FOR CHRISTMAS DAY

Call to Worship:

Let us go even unto Bethlehem and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us.

For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given: and the government shall be upon His shoulder: and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

Confession (*Minister and People*):

Almighty and all-holy Father; We confess ourselves unworthy of Thine unspeakable Gift. We have not loved Thee as we ought; Nor have we always been loving to one another; Kindhearted, forgiving one another; Even as Thou, for Christ's sake, hast forgiven us. We have lived in selfishness and worldly pride; And the good gifts Thou hast bestowed upon us; We have not used to relieve the burdens of others. Pardon and blot out our offenses, we beseech Thee; Through the incarnate life and willing sacrifice of The holy Son, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Thanksgiving (*Minister and People*):

Glory be to God on high; And on earth peace, good will toward men. We praise Thee; We bless Thee; We worship Thee; We glorify Thee; We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory; O Lord God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father; That takest away the sins of the world; Have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world; Receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father; Have mercy upon us.

For Thou only art holy; Thou only art the Lord; Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Spirit, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Intercession:

O Lord our God, who didst send Thy Son to be the Saviour of the world: Make Thy salvation known to the ends of the earth, that in every place Thy name shall be worshiped and glorified. We beseech Thee, by the light of Thine Incarnate Word, to illumine and make glad the hearts of all who serve Thee in Thy Church. Give them the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind; comfort them by His presence who is Immanuel, God with us, that in the faith they may endure unto the end. . . .

O Thou, who by giving Thy Son to be born of Mary didst sanctify motherhood and exalt the families of earth: Bless, we pray Thee, our homes, kindred, and friends. Grant that in the reunions of this season all hearts may be glad and all pleasures pure. Let children be dear to us for the sake of the holy Child Jesus. Make them glad in His love as they keep the festival; give to all a childlike heart to share the

children's joy. Take into Thy keeping our loved ones from whom we are now separated, and grant that both they and we, by drawing near to Thee, may be drawn closer to one another in Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Father of mercies, we commend to Thee the poor, the cold, the hungry, the lonely, and those who have no helper. So move the hearts of those to whom Thou hast freely given all things, that they also may freely give; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Meditation: "And on Earth Peace, Good Will Toward Men" (Luke 2: 14).

Attention: Men of good will—watchers on the hillsides, tillers of the soil, keepers of the home, shepherds of the mind and spirit, tenders of the machine, and all who agonize over the death and destruction of our present hour! Listen—God is at work among us! This is his world, and the assurance given us at Bethlehem so long ago is still true. The message of the Advent season is that God has entered our human life in the person of Jesus Christ. In his life, death, resurrection we have seen the wisdom and power of God. Through his resurrection we have the assurance of Christ's living presence and, hence, our own help.

We are not alone. God is present in his Church, of which we are members. Our hands and hearts are joined with all men who seek to reconcile the world to God through Jesus Christ; also with those of other faiths who walk afar off. Let us then in this season pause and ponder on our resources. Be it known that our tragic hour is matched by the concern, love, and power demonstrated in Jesus Christ by the almighty God.

Peace comes to our minds and hearts when we remember that we are co-workers with God and our times are in his hand. Events do take unexpected turns, swift currents are reversed, men's hearts are transformed, and in those moments we know that he is among us. As the Scriptures eternally proclaim:

"And I will bring the blind by a way that they knew not." —Isa. 42: 16.

"They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength." —Isa. 40: 31.

"For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." —John 3: 16.

Let us think further. The messages of Advent and Good Friday belong together: The crucifixion interprets the birth of Christ. And upon the path of every man who is obedient to Jesus Christ looms the shadows of rejection, loneliness, and death itself.

But woe unto us if we voice not our concern and conviction. Judgment begins to fall upon us at that moment. Indeed, we dare not turn from our vision at the risk of God's wrath.

"If the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, . . . his blood [any person's] will I require at the watchman's hand." —Ezek. 33: 6.

Benediction: The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be upon you, and remain with you always. Amen.

Rev. Nelson J. Wright, Department of Adult Work, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. (Material from The Book of Common Worship is taken from pp. 292, 296, 349.)

About Books

Democracy and the Churches, by James H. Nichols. The Westminster Press. \$4.50.

This stimulating book follows the march of freedom through the ages of Church history. Its theme is the relation of the churches to political and social freedom, beginning with the role of Calvinism in the movement for freedom in the seventeenth century.

The Reformed tradition in the Christian Church, growing out of the conciliar instead of the monarchic principle of the Middle Ages, is depicted as a unique contribution to democracy. The early Puritans believed that the whole of life should be molded in accordance with God's will. They refused to concede absolute powers to any human authority. They stressed liberty in the state, and, at times if necessary, *against* the state. To the Puritans liberty was primary and equality a corollary.

From 1640 to 1790 Puritanism and Non-conformity nurtured democracy in the United States.

Democracy and the Churches traces the evangelical movement in Protestantism in Britain and the United States. This strongly individualistic faith was augmented by the utilitarian spirit of the nineteenth century, with its indifference to Church authority, its low esteem of ecclesiastical tradition, its regard for each man as a separate individual with a destiny he himself must work out.

Democracy came many years later in the Roman Catholic world. Not until 1848, two centuries after the time of Cromwell, did the Roman Church give qualified countenance to liberalism.

Whereas in the seventeenth century the French revoked the Edict of Nantes, the British passed the Act of Toleration. Because opposition was recognized and encouraged, in the centuries to come there was more freedom and stability in politics in Britain and the United States than in any of the great Catholic nations.

That the French did not comprehend the nature and contribution of Protestantism may have been in part the result of the persecution of the Huguenots in the seventeenth century. By eliminating dissent, spontaneity of thought and independence were destroyed in French culture. Eighteenth century France contained no political theory of the rights of the individual against the state. On the other hand, the French Revolution stressed equality from rational considerations and envy of the privileged. It knew no higher law, in loyalty to which even the state might be resisted. The general will was felt to be the source of all laws, the criterion of all morals.

From 1848 onward, however, there were strong movements of liberalism within the Roman Church. The story of their progress and of their suppression, in a wave of ecclesiastical reaction, is told convincingly and helpfully. Dr. Nichols makes it very clear that the Catholic Church has had many liberal leaders, but also that only a minority within the Protestant tradition have believed in democracy as a consequence of the Christian faith and ethic.

This book provides a splendid background for the understanding of the recent writings of Paul Blanshard. Dr. Nichols' historical approach helps the reader to appreciate and appraise Paul Blanshard's documentation of Catholic power, and to

see the problem of democracy and the churches in perspective. He notes the persistent movement of liberalism in Romanism, and also its complete annihilation by ecclesiastical structure and canon law.

Protestantism played an important role in humanitarian reform, in the antislavery and temperance issues, and began to show important solidaristic tendencies near the turn of the century. The career of Walter Rauschenbusch and the role of the social gospel is dealt with in a stimulating and helpful manner.

The story is told at length of the relation of Roman Catholicism to Fascism in Italy, Austria, Germany, and Spain. The liberal movement among Catholics was crushed again, and Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco were swept into power. The author shows conclusively that where Romanism is dominant and exercising coercive control there is clerical support of the monarchic principle in church and state; and resistance to injustice and oppression takes "atheistic forms."

In describing the role of Roman Catholicism in the United States in the twentieth century, Dr. Nichols gives credit to the Roman Church for the splendid education of its priests on social questions, and for the work they have done among their people. He points out the concern of the Romanists for American rural life, and the vision shown in plans in that direction. Mindful of the consistent opposition of that Church to Federal aid to education which excludes the parochial schools, of the consistent blocking of public health legislation, and of the number of Catholics with criminal records (which is partly due to the location of Catholic churches among the urban poor), he still maintains that the Catholic record for social democracy in this century in the United States has been commendable.

The book also focuses attention on the power of censorship by boycott used by the Roman Church in the realm of "educa-

tion and the idea industries." It calls attention to the fact that the whole subject of religion in education, and its relation to the problem of Church and State, is undergoing rethinking now. After alluding to the significant fact of the absence of Catholic leadership in the United States in endeavors to reform political corruption, he discusses the effect of the Roman Church on American foreign policy.

In the Epilogue, Dr. Nichols stresses the crucial role of the ecumenical movement in meeting the problems of the twentieth century. The tasks of Puritan Protestantism and of the liberal democratic state are much the same. Can the ecumenical fellowship transcend, and be expressed through, local and denominational autonomy? Can the liberal state accept social and economic controls and still remain liberal?

Although the Roman Catholics and the Communists are each trying to win the Puritan Protestants, it is important for these Protestants to see not only the differences but the fundamental similarity between Romanism and Communism, and to yield neither to party nor hierarchy. Puritan Protestantism and liberal democracy face the same perils with the same faith.

This book is a must for freedom-loving preachers and laymen.

—Jule Ayers

We, the American People, by Marguerite Ann Stewart. The John Day Company. \$3.50.

We, the American People, is a very readable book, which tells the story of American origins in terms of the various national, racial, and religious strains that make up the present American people. The avowed purpose, to demonstrate that the melting pot concept of America has been amazingly successful, is well served. The problems that have sometimes slowed the process are not blinked, but the

achievements of various groups, and their growing acceptance as Americans, are given the preponderance of space.

If one were to criticize anything in the book, it would be that some of the history is overhumanized. Historic characters are credited with conversations which, we suspect, may not be accurate. However, this bit of license adds much to the readability of the account.

The book would be good resource reading for young people in connection with a study of democracy. The general level of research is amazingly high, and the awareness of various racial and national contributions to our way of life is materially heightened.

—Paul C. McFarlin

Hostages of Civilisation: The Social Sources of Anti-Semitism in Germany, by Eva G. Reichmann. The Beacon Press, \$3.00.

Here is a stimulating and thorough analysis of the social causes of anti-Semitism in Germany, forged in answer to the question as to whether or not emancipation of the Jews was a failure.

Dr. Reichmann carefully traces the real Jewish problem, which she recognizes as a special case of group tension, showing how legal emancipation of the Jews set in motion their gradual assimilation into the culture around them, while at the same time temporarily increased the natural tension between them and the groups with which they came into competition.

There is a social problem arising from dislike of strangers and the demand for group homogeneity. This problem quite naturally involves the Jews and has to be recognized objectively. It is at the root of any intergroup conflict. However, the German variety of anti-Semitism (as, indeed, any anti-Semitism) involves certain subjective behavior of individuals, such as the need for self-assertion and aggressiveness. This the author believes should be considered a separate problem, known

as the "subjective" or "sham" cause of anti-Semitism.

Carefully, Dr. Reichmann shows how the history of modern Germany, with its belated economic development, its distrust and outright rejection of Western ideas, its morbid nationalism, its retreat into mystic romanticism, led to complete social disintegration. Anticapitalist resentment, moral and intellectual fatigue, disparagement of values, economic egoism, were factors contributing to the rise of the Nazis.

Finally, Dr. Reichmann demonstrates how the Nazis gave the masses relief from the tensions of civilization, reduced conscience to silence, and provided a pseudo-religious authority for hate. She analyzes the Nazi success in assuaging the feeling of national humiliation and in restoring national self-confidence—all by means of an antisymbol: the Jew.

The conclusions drawn from this very valuable study are ominous in the sense that they show human frailty at its worst. They are hopeful, however, in that they shed light in this moral darkness by which both Jews and Gentiles can avoid the tragic delusion of the antisymbol.

This is a monumental book, copiously annotated. It is a tremendous contribution to our understanding of the many factors that created the tragedy in Germany. It should serve as a guide for us in our dealing with comparable problems.

—Paul C. McFarlin

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UMT, DENIAL OF DEMOCRACY

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., *Director of the National Council Against Conscription.*

THE United States throughout its history has rejected the European system of permanent military conscription as being alien to the American concept of democracy. However, under stress of war or approaching war, a temporary Selective Service law has been adopted. Such a temporary draft is now operating and will expire in 1954 unless Congress renews it. The proposal of Universal Military Training now before Congress is intended as permanent legislation. If it should pass, every boy, regardless how peaceful the international scene, would be drafted for eight years, part of which would be military training and part service in the National Guard or some other reserve organization.

UMT is admittedly not needed for the present crisis. As Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg has pointed out, "This will not be an emergency bill but a proposal for

permanent legislation." It is so clearly unnecessary now that it could not, except in token form, be put into effect while the crisis lasts. Its advocates are aware that it would reduce the effectiveness of the Regular Army, since at least 200,000 men would have to be withdrawn from the Regular and Reserve Establishments to serve as trainers and support personnel. The recent report of the National Security Training Commission appointed to formulate a UMT program reveals that as long as the present emergency requires the drafting of every available boy at eighteen and a half, it will be impossible even to begin a UMT program. "The precise date of commencement," wrote the Commission, "is beyond anyone's power to forecast accurately in the light of present world uncertainties." Hanson Baldwin, *New York Times* military expert, summed the problem up in *The*

The issue of UMT reaches a showdown in Congress in January. The two articles on universal military training have been requested on the pros and cons of the question and are presented to sharpen your thinking and stimulate your action. The General Assembly has steadily opposed any and every form of universal military training. Some of the arguments in support of the General Assembly's position are presented in the first article by John Swomley. Chaplain Lyons' article in support of universal military training offers some of the leading arguments for conscription.

New York Times of June 4, 1951, in these words: "It is unlikely that UMT would be invoked by the President for some time to come, for to start it now in the midst of our present emergency would greatly complicate our preparedness program."

The real reason for its being advocated now, said Senator Millard Tydings while chairman of the Armed Services Committee, is that "if we do not pass UMT during the present emergency, we will never get it."

Universality Is Not Democracy

At the outset, proponents of UMT admit that it is necessary to use undemocratic methods to try to pass UMT. But they suggest that UMT itself is democratic because everyone would be drafted. Universality implies equality and as such it is one aspect of democracy. But equality without liberty and fraternity cannot be said to embody democracy. The notion is that forcing a man to do something against his will somehow becomes democratic if only you force every man to do the same thing. If this were true, then universal slavery would be democratic. Were Hitler's conscript armies a sign of democracy in action? Are the uniformed legions of Russia proof that the Soviet Union really is a democracy?

Insofar as a democracy decides that an emergency demands compulsory military service for several million of its citizens, it decides that re-

luctantly with the realization that it is suspending democracy for these men for a while. For the democratic nation is built on the idea of voluntary participation: the citizen who serves his country and his community because he wants to. This is the strength of democracy; the one supremely noble thought that set it apart from the dynasties and dictators and made America a beacon to freedom-loving men everywhere.

Is There a Caste System?

The idea that universality or equality of treatment exists in the Army is also fallacious because the officer caste system prevents both equality and fraternity. Some military men who are themselves officers attempt to deny the existence of a caste system. But for the most part "military men" justify the refusal of officers to mingle with their men with the argument that rigid discipline demands the maintenance of the "superior-inferior" classifications. The classic description of the caste nature of the Army comes from a West Point graduate, Major J. E. Runcie, who testified in 1919 before a Senate subcommittee, and stated:

"The relation that exists between the officer and the enlisted man in our Army is not a military relation; it is a feudal relation, it is a social relation. . . . It is a relation that exists between men of a superior caste and men of an inferior caste."

At West Point, he said, enlisted men are "engaged not in military duties but in the care of a vast village. Many of these have no arms, have no other uniforms than those of workingmen—laborers and artisans. . . . The inevitable result is that the cadet after he has been exposed during the formative period of his character for four years to such surroundings comes out not so much with the feeling that it is his duty to serve as that it is his privilege to be served." (Testimony on S. 64, August, 1919.)

A report in the May 16, 1951, *New York Times* of the attitudes of enlisted men quoted the men as saying: "Why do we pay income taxes and generals don't? Why don't they give us free mailing services? . . . If democracy means fighting for freedom, why don't we have some of it in the Army?"

The Army-written UMT bill submitted to Congress in 1947 provided that "any trainee who behaves with disrespect or in an insubordinate manner toward an officer . . . shall be punished as a security training court may direct." There was no corresponding criminal provision that officers should treat trainees with respect.

In fact, the oath that the UMT Commission has recommended to Congress would require each boy to swear "that I will obey the orders of the officers appointed *over* me." The Commission also recommended that the UMT Corps "be a component of

the land and naval forces," thus imposing the Regular military caste system upon UMT.

Does UMT Train for Democracy?

A soldier does not retain his full civil liberties while in the Army. He does not have freedom of speech, for he may never contradict an officer. Freedom of assembly is also curtailed, since enlisted men may not hold meetings to protest arbitrary acts of their officers.

An Army regulation that has been used to silence opponents of UMT within the Army states: "Except as authorized by the War Department, efforts by any person in the active service of the United States . . . to procure or oppose or in any manner influence legislation affecting the Army . . . are forbidden."

When the Army senses opposition to its policies and enforces this regulation, the soldier's civil liberties are restricted. But when the Army wants legislation adopted, it authorizes and encourages lobbying.

The Army has the power, and has exercised it, to restrict soldiers' reading. *The New York Times* of June 18, 1944, reported that "under title V of the Soldier Vote Act as interpreted by the Adjutant General of the Army, many distinguished books of general circulation are now forbidden for Army and Navy use." Among the books that were barred were *Yankee from Olympus*, a biography

of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, and *The Republic*, by Charles A. Beard.

What About Civil Liberties?

If a civilian is accused of a crime, he has the right to trial by a jury of his equals. He is entitled to a lawyer who acts on his behalf without fear of intimidation from those rendering the verdict. But in the Army, if he is an enlisted man he is entitled to have only a proportion of the court chosen from enlisted men. The recent Commission Report recommends that not more than one third of the court trying UMT boys be made up of enlisted men. The rest must be officers. Under such circumstances the enlisted men are at a disadvantage if they do not go along with the officers.

Major Runcie, in testifying on the question of military courts, was asked by a Senator whether it is possible for an officer "to deal as justly with the enlisted men as with those of his own class." He replied, "I feel that it is utterly impossible." The Senator asked: "Do you not feel that where an enlisted man is tried by court-martial for some trivial offense, he may be given a much larger sentence than a commissioned officer who may be guilty of a much more serious offense?" Major Runcie replied: "That frequently happens; but it goes much farther. The enlisted man may be tried and con-

victed for something which is not an offense at all." (Testimony on S. 64, August, 1919.)

In an effort to remedy some of these abuses, Congress a few years ago passed a Uniform Code of Military Justice. However, this new code hasn't really changed the system, as the following news story, taken from the August 8, 1951, Berkeley, California, *Gazette*, indicates:

"Honolulu Attorney Hyman M. Greenstein says it's hard for a serviceman to get a fair break despite the military's new court-martial rules. Greenstein told the National Association of Claimants Compensation Attorneys in San Francisco yesterday that rights of an accused serviceman are sometimes recklessly disregarded."

"It's hard for a serviceman to get a fair break," Greenstein said, "because courts-martial, even if they try to be fair, usually unconsciously presume a man is guilty or he wouldn't be on trial."

"In Honolulu last year men were imprisoned for as many as 117 days before they were charged."

"Greenstein said the new military justice code, adopted after World War II, is good on paper but lacks in its application. . . ."

"Greenstein said few officers chosen to be defense attorneys enjoy arguing a case before a court of their own superior officers."

A recent investigation by an at-

torney, Thurgood Marshall, for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, revealed excessive sentences and other abuses in Army courts. The American Civil Liberties Union paper, *Open Forum*, March 31, 1951, in describing Marshall's conclusions, said: "In almost every case, defense counsel had practically no time to prepare the GIs' cases. Most lawyers talked to their clients for only 15 to 20 minutes before the trial. And the trials themselves were short—some only 45 minutes."

Many more illustrations could be mentioned to show that when a boy enters the Army he leaves behind him many of his democratic rights to become a part of an autocratic system.

When a boy of eighteen is exposed to such an authoritarian atmosphere for eight years of training and service, when there is bred in him a contempt for dissenters and a belief that force is the way in which conflicts are solved, he is not thereby fitted for participation in democratic civilian life.

The violence and destructive horseplay that marks Legion conventions is not by any means so serious as the attempts by organized veterans to coerce their fellow citizens into their mold of patriotism. There have been numerous instances in the post-war period like the one in Glendale, California, where twenty men wearing caps of Legion Post 127 of that

city and carrying arms invaded a private home to break up what they had evidently been told was a "Communist" meeting. The people they found there were ordered to disperse in ten minutes and "no one will be hurt." When a squad of sheriff's deputies arrived the Legionnaires left, having learned in the meantime that the "subversives" were really members of a chartered Democratic club. The members of the raiding party were reported to have marched into the house in military formation and to have identified themselves as members of the "Americanism committee." An official of the Post later defended the right of the Legionnaires to break up the meeting "if they thought it was un-American." (See 1947 file of *Open Forum*; also *The Progressive*, April, 1949.)

Heretofore in American history conscription has involved a relatively small proportion of the nation's population. Consequently the nation could overlook the fact that veterans groups like the Legion never opposed but actively supported any proposal by the Military Establishment. But today, when military control over foreign policy, our economic life, our schools and other institutions, is steadily growing, we must be concerned lest universal conscription permanently, in peacetime, give to the whole nation the kind of attitude that is now held by a militaristic minority.

UMT, PROMISE OF DEMOCRACY

By E. VAUGHAN LYONS, JR., Chaplain, U. S. Navy.

THE National Security Training Commission established by Public Law 51 will bring to the Congress when it reconvenes this month a broad outline for a UMT program. The plan to establish universal military training as a national policy has given many thoughtful people grave concern. The alternatives are even more disturbing.

The situation that confronts our nation today is desperate—one that is different from any in our history. The avowed revolutionary principles of Communism, the policy pursued by the Kremlin in recent years, together with the statements of the Communists, leave no room for doubt as to their motives or intentions. The Kremlin's challenge threatens the religious, social, and moral values of a free society. We are engaged in a struggle that ultimately must be resolved or reconciled. The failure to meet the challenge and to accept the responsibilities thrust upon this catastrophic generation would be a moral failure. To ignore it would be unrealistic.

UMT is a positive measure in the highest American tradition to provide for an equitable distribution of the military burden during the uncertain period ahead. Since the invasion of Korea thousands of vet-

eran reservists have been recalled to active duty, and as a result are suffering a second protracted disruption in their lives and careers. After World War II many of these men married and now have family responsibilities as well as professional, business, or industrial responsibilities which they cannot leave without personal hardship. They have already served honorably and well. It is unfair to expect them to carry the burden again.

Universal military training will ultimately make possible a reduction in the size of our standing military services and thus alleviate the financial burdens and social dangers which a large regular force imposes on society. It is impracticable economically, productively, and socially to maintain a regular force equal in size and strength to that currently mustered by the Soviet Union. On the other hand, to ignore the threat of Communism is to invite disaster. UMT will enable us to maintain adequate strength for a consistent foreign policy.

The Essence of Democracy Is Universality

From the days of Concord, American wars have been fought by citizen soldiers quickly mustered to meet

each crisis. The days when men were prepared to defend their country as soon as they had learned to fire a musket have long since passed. Modern warfare is a highly complex science. Technical skill in handling modern weapons can be gained neither by chance nor by hasty briefing just before combat. It is imperative that our young men be well fed, well equipped, and well trained. Such training should come at an age that is least likely to disrupt careers and marriage. Young men at the age of eighteen or nineteen are better able to serve than older men. Their training will provide insurance for a longer period of time, and they are more likely to benefit than to lose by reason of their military service.

Universality is one of the basic principles of democracy. Without it democracy cannot function. Unless all share in government, democratic provisions are violated. Unless all vote, pay taxes, voice their opinion, think independently and intelligently, there can be no democracy. All must share equally in its benefits regardless of race or creed. By the same token all must bear their responsibilities for its support and protection. In time of national emergency, the rich man's son as well as the poor man's son, the farmer's son as well as the immigrant's son must share equally the burden of defense. This is in keeping with the highest American tradition.

Should we be confronted by an-

other war, all of America's human resources will be needed. Young men from every conceivable background and from all the geographic areas of our country will be called upon to contribute their services. UMT imposes an equal obligation upon all young men without regard for their social, racial, or economic status. It has been the American way since the days of the Revolutionary War.

Is There a Military Caste System?

Will our young men be subjected to a caste system? One thing must be made clear. According to the plan suggested by the National Security Training Commission, young men will not be inducted into the armed forces. UMT will operate as a separate function of the services. While the Army will train about 50 per cent, the Air Force 22 per cent and the Navy and Marine Corps the remaining 28 per cent, all will be under the direction and supervision of a civilian agency known as the National Security Training Commission.

The term "caste" is an unpleasant word which refers to a rigid division of society usually involving hereditary or sacred distinctions and allowing no provision for individual movement in an ascending scale. It is conservatively estimated that about 45 per cent of the officers currently on duty in the Navy are former enlisted men. The other services in-

dicating similar figures. Any system which by policy provides for the movement of its members from one rank to another cannot be called a caste system. By definition alone the use of the term is sociologically incorrect.

A certain amount of rigid discipline is a requirement of military service. When a command is given life depends upon its prompt and efficient execution. Senior officers bear the responsibility for distasteful decisions. More than mere tradition or custom makes immediate compliance of orders incumbent upon all who are junior in age, experience, and training.

Critics of military authority readily cite abuses that have become public knowledge. Any abuse of privilege or authority, whether it be in civil government or in a military organization, is intolerable. Where such abuses exist it is incumbent upon the serviceman to raise the voice of protest or to report it to higher authority. To obey the dictates of general apathy is a more heinous crime than to submit to lawful authority, even though one personally disagrees with that authority.

The distinguishing features that may once have divided the ranks between officers and enlisted personnel are disintegrating. Rapidly changing regulations and policies within the services as well as the pressure of other social changes make the distinctions less discernible.

Does the Soldier Retain His Civil Liberties?

The man who is inducted into the service does not forfeit his citizenship. On the contrary, he assumes a greater responsibility and enhances rather than reduces his civil rights.

In the first place, he is encouraged to vote. Information regarding election dates and provisions by his local state for absentee ballots is disseminated throughout the services. This franchise is carefully guarded.

Secondly, the serviceman and his family are entitled to write to their Congressman regarding any legislation so long as it does not deal with military matters. The reason is obvious. This regulation is designed as a check on our democratic process to prevent the military from becoming a powerful lobby to influence legislation in its own behalf.

Thirdly, the Uniform Code of Military Justice guarantees him the right of a fair trial should he be accused of an offense triable by court-martial. The findings of such a court are subject to review by higher authority and by a civilian court. Thus the civil liberties of the soldier are protected and preserved.

To What Extent Does UMT Train for Democracy?

Perhaps this question is best answered in the light of recent experiences. Colleges and universities report that the returned veterans from

World War II were more serious students than their younger non-veteran contemporaries. Not only were they more mature but they displayed more purpose and determination. They were self-reliant.

During the recent war over eleven and a half million of our young men, from every conceivable type of American background, were engaged in a common struggle. Working, eating, living, and fighting together in an intimate association they learned more about one another than they could have learned in any other way. Southern Baptists became acquainted with urban Roman Catholics from the North; Negroes and whites mingled together, some for the first time in their lives. They began to understand one another a little better. They spoke the same

language. This was democracy.

Furthermore, these same young men saw parts of our country and the world they would not have seen otherwise. Their horizons were broadened. Today they are interested in France, England, Italy, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Japan because they were there and they know a little of each country's problems.

Through their churches, their veterans organizations and community enterprises they are demonstrating their interest in the democratic process.

The views herein expressed are the private opinions of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Naval Establishment or the Department of Defense.

What does the reader have to do with freedom of the press?

Plenty, say Per G. Stensland and Larry Dennis, in a new 48-page booklet, *Keeping Up with the News*.

Newspapers and the news play an important part in the life of everyone. A free, responsible press is one of the most effective safeguards a democracy can possess. But in order to remain free, the press must have alert, careful readers.

Publishers and editors, the authors state, are kept on their toes by the readers who look at little stories as well as splash banners, read two

or more newspapers with conflicting viewpoints, and consider whether specialty features are camouflaging the newspaper's public attitudes.

This readable booklet tells what newspapers are trying to do, the problems they face, what factors can alter the news, and how readers— young and old—can form their own opinions about important local and national issues as they read about them in their newspapers.

Keeping Up with the News is published by Science Research Associates, Inc., 57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, Illinois.

PROFITS AND PROGRESS

By EARLE D. MCKAY, *Assistant to the Vice-President, Wheeling Steel Corporation, Wheeling, West Virginia.*

ALMOST every problem in labor-management relations can be carried back to the question of profit, and for what it is used. There is no subject more important in our economy.

The constant rise in the American worker's standard of living—evidenced by all the living comforts American workers now take as a matter of course—is the direct result of the way our industries use profit to expand production. That permits wages to rise, as production increases warrant.

You will find, if you look at corporation statistics, that over a long period of years most of the profit has been reinvested directly in expanding plant, to increase production. In the years 1942-1949, American corporations had net earnings after taxes of around \$109 billion. They paid out only \$45 billion in dividends to owners, and reinvested \$64 billion in new machines and production facilities.

The steel industry between 1940-

1950 earned \$3,900 million after tax payments. Just about half of this was paid out to stockholders in dividends. The other half, or something over \$1,900 million, was reinvested to enlarge steel production.

Our entire standard of living, of course, is based on the use of steel, because steel makes all our machines—from the vacuum cleaner in the home to the dynamo in the power plant. Today we produce more steel than all the rest of the world put together—and that explains why we enjoy more living comforts, with less real physical work. Our vast steel production now flows at the rate of three tons every second, day and night, because steel management's use of earnings is essential to keep steel production growing.

Meanwhile, as better production facilities have been put back of each worker, so that his own output increases, his wages have been advanced step by step. When our steel capacity was 29 million tons in 1905, the basic wage for common labor in

The September issue of Social Progress explored some critical economic problems before the nation. Three Christian churchmen having views different from those expressed by the authors were asked to contribute to a subsequent issue. Here are the observations of Mr. McKay, a member of the Counseling Committee of the Division of Social Education and Action.

the Pittsburgh Mahoning Valley was just 15 cents an hour. (Average manufacturing national wages were \$9.91 weekly in the same year.)

By 1925 the common labor wage average was 44 cents hourly, or almost three times the level of 1905—while steel capacity had risen to some 68 million tons a year.

Today, of course, the basic wage for unskilled common labor in steel is \$1.31 hourly—not counting fringe benefits like pensions, insurance, and social security, which add up to an additional 19 cents per hour.

THE long-time rise in wages, the consistent use of profit for the benefit of the whole economy, show how biased are assertions that our economy operates for the benefit of the few. It has never operated that way—not even in the last century—even though it was less enlightened then than now. As evidence of the social justice it offered in economic life, even in the 1800's, remember the millions of emigrants who were willing to suffer almost any hardship to reach our shores from Europe.

Marx, who wrote his famous Manifesto with Engels in 1847, saw profit as something that was taken away from the many, for the enjoyment of a few. There is no doubt that the industrial system which Marx saw operating in Europe did fail to plow back profits into industrial expansion on the scale required for a steady advance in real wages

and living standards. There is no doubt that too few people in Europe did often receive too much of the benefit.

In Europe, there was always too much tendency to use profit for financing consumption, instead of plowing it back into industrial growth.

To use profits merely to finance luxury consumption is a disservice to the future of a nation—whether it is committed by politicians, by shortsighted individuals who use the profit for their own special benefit, or by some labor leaders who want all, or nearly all, the profit diverted into wages, thereby benefiting only a special few.

One economic fact is basic. Industrial expansion can be financed only out of profit, or through profit. If profit is dissipated in consumption, or if it is destroyed by any kind of political or social mismanagement, then expansion ceases. By recognizing this simple fact—and by consistently using profit to create an expanding economy—America's industrial managers have built the vast economic foundation on which America stands today. Profit constantly plowed back to enlarge output is responsible for the unique standard of living enjoyed by every man, woman, and child in the country. It is the foundation of America's production strength and security as it faces an unprecedented international threat.

WHEN profits are relatively high in an economy, the one important question to ask is whether they are being reinvested in ways that benefit the nation. This fact needs wider understanding. If profits are being plowed back into production, in volume adequate to raise the standard of living and increase the nation's security, they need to be healthy.

In that case the entire nation benefits. Its citizens benefit, as consumers, from additional goods that will be produced. Labor benefits, likewise, from additional jobs that will be created. Labor also benefits from the new and improved machines that these profits will purchase.

Our machine designs are being improved all the time; and every renewal of old machines, or every plant expansion that brings in additional machines, or every improvement in mechanization that makes work easier, puts back of the workers more horsepower, more machine efficiency. This automatically increases their production. And it is from such increased production that wage increases properly come. A man's real wage is what his money will buy. If you increase his money wage, without increasing production, you only inflate prices.

This explains why unions are misguided if they think wage increases can come out of profits. They can only come out of profits after the

profits are first used to expand plant and enlarge production. Then the wage increase flows from the enlarged output of goods. All increases in the real wage that have accrued to American labor have resulted from this kind of productive use of profit.

One fact is important to note. Profits that are plowed back into industry cannot enrich stockholders or managers. Managers get only their salaries. Stockholders can never get out of a corporation anything more than the dividends that are paid them. The profits that are reinvested in expanding enterprise accrue to the benefit of the entire economy.

Today it is almost universal practice for America's industrial managers to act, in their allocation of profit, with a sense of responsible trusteeship for the benefit of the entire economy. They must, of course, pay their stockholders a fair return. But whatever they pay stockholders is only a means to reaching a larger end: constant increase in plant capacity and improvement of output for the benefit of everybody. The American worker gets a double benefit—he benefits both as a consumer and as a wage earner whose earning power is steadily increased by this effective use of capital in productive ways.

Hence, any labor leader who argues that profits not paid to stockholders should be diverted promptly into wage increases, instead of being used to enlarge production, is being

extremely shortsighted. He is being just as shortsighted and selfish, indeed, as those discredited European capitalists who took most of the profits for their own enjoyment and consumption, instead of making them work for the universal good.

How does it happen, if our profit system is being operated with such an ethical sense of the common welfare, that today's industrial management is so frequently attacked? Ignorance of what we are actually trying to do in industry is more frequently the explanation, perhaps, than venality.

Not long ago, for instance, a published statement implied that industrial management has a completely callous heart because workers suffered some 1,950,000 accidents on the job in 1950. Did this critic know, for instance, that in the same year workers suffered 2,550,000 accidents when they were away from the job? The injuries reported on the job, furthermore, included even the merest scratch.

The same critic implied the heartlessness of management by citing the 15,500 deaths from industrial accidents in 1950. Did he know that industrial workers in the same year suffered some 32,000 deaths from accidents outside the factory—including 6,700 such deaths in the home?

The fact is, of course, that management has worked steadily to

teach safety practices, to install safety devices, and, if necessary, to enforce safety conduct, in all industrial operations. The result is amply documented by the safety records of scores of industries: the steel industry as a case in point reduced by nearly half the number of accidents per million man-hours of exposure during the decade 1940 to 1950.

Those who portray management as profit-hungry self-seekers, acting decently and ethically only when compelled by the pressure of law and union leadership, are doing a disservice to truth and to our nation. They are, in effect, describing management in the same terms that Marx used a hundred years ago.

There is no doubt that in the early days of industry, some individual owners were avaricious seekers of profit for their personal benefit, and heartless employers of men. But such characters were never numerous on the American scene, and today businessmen of that stamp have no standing in our industry or our society.

It is enough to say that such men were products of a crude time from which our own society has traveled far, in less than a century. When Marx was writing his Manifesto, human slavery was still some twenty years from abolition in our Southland. Our factory production in the North was still largely in the hands of small entrepreneurs who were neither better nor worse than the average run of Americans in their

day. A few of them, for instance, were just as willing to employ children in their factories as some parents of that time were eager to send out their children to labor. Most of them, on the other hand, were men of ideals, conscience, and character who were laying the foundations of our unparalleled system of corporate production today.

TODAY, instead of being managed by individual entrepreneurs, seeking personal profit, most of our production is in the hands of corporations. Today's corporation is, in effect, a co-operating group of men linked together in a single purpose. Our wonderful mass production techniques are made possible only by this kind of large-scale teamwork. In 1950, for instance, only an insignificant part of our manufactured output came from producers with resources of a quarter million dollars or less. In that year all manufacturing corporations had sales of around \$182 billion—and 96 per cent of this volume was created by those with resources of over \$250 thousand.

This corporate association between men who work in harmony and singleness of purpose for the common good is perhaps the most extraordinary economic development of our time. No worker in a corporation can prosper there just by working to benefit himself—he can prosper only by working for the whole. Here we find exemplified, in

economic terms, one of the great ethical teachings in the New Testament: "He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." The man who freely gives his life to something greater than himself—whether in religion, or in society, or in the economic work of his day—finds the real recipe for achievement.

In the large American corporation of today, management is almost entirely in the hands of salaried specialists who have qualified for top responsibility through proving their ability to produce goods people need, at a price the great majority can pay. These men are employees, just like all the other workers. They cannot benefit personally from any profit the corporation earns, unless they become shareholders—which any worker or outsider is also free to do—and then they can receive only the same dividends gotten by all shareholders, as a fair return on their investment.

Greed for personal profit can therefore play no important part in the decisions of the men in management. The one possible motive in their work is to keep production growing. The one reason they work to give the corporation a sound profit record lies in their knowledge that expanded production depends entirely on how much profit the corporation can earn.

As profit is used in the corporation today, it represents, not something taken away from people, but a

means of giving to people more and more of what they want and need, all the time.

This fact about our ethical use of profit is a message that America should be shouting from the house-tops. Many Europeans do not really understand our economic system. And many Americans themselves have been so indirectly impressed with Marxian propaganda that they do not realize what our own system really stands for, in terms of mutual good and co-operative striving.

American management very early discovered, in other words, that the surest way to prosper is to help others prosper, and it is those organizations which follow this recipe which succeed.

The steel industry is an interesting example of a great production system which supports the growth of many smaller companies. Today's total of primary producers of steel is about 200 companies. But today there are over 12,000 more establishments fabricating steel than there were 30-odd years ago. Steel is sold to them at a price so low—under 5 cents a pound—that their products can find a universal market and benefit everybody.

It is interesting to note that the steel in a light automobile selling under \$2,000 is sold by the producer for around \$170. The rest of the price represents cost of fabrication and manufacture, in which labor's wages represent the largest part.

This again illustrates how cheap steel, produced in increasing abundance, supports hundreds of thousands of workers in industries all over the country. In this connection, it is worth pointing out that the profit made by all the steel companies last year put together was less than the profit made by one single manufacturer of automobiles.

THE steel industry is admittedly operating on a very low profit ratio in view of the huge effort that is now required to expand steel production for the purposes of national strength and security. Altogether, between 1940-1950, the steel companies invested around \$3.6 billion in expansion (of which \$1.9 came direct from current earnings), and this year they are spending over a billion dollars more.

Expansion today, at current price levels, is tremendously expensive. It costs around \$90,000 now to create a job in a new integrated steel plant, whereas the prewar average investment per job was \$10,000 to \$15,000.

All this vast investment for improving our standard of living, and building national security, must either come directly from profit, or be supported by profit.

If every American will help to explain this fact to any uninformed critic who tries to denounce our profit system, he will be rendering a useful service to the entire nation.

SEPARATION OF THE CHURCH AND STATE

THE nomination of General Mark Clark as our representative in Rome "failed and is dead." According to Senator Connally, chairman of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the opinion is generally held in Washington that the nomination will be held up indefinitely in committee when the matter is debated in January. We hope that the opinion of the Senator from Texas and the report of the "informed sources" in Washington are true. If the President does not have his way in this matter, it will be because the American citizens understand the issue and tell their Senators by letter and telegram that they expect their representatives to be true to this basic American principle. Letters to the President on this issue are also exceedingly important.

We are proud of the historic position of our Church. The first constitution of the Presbyterian Church adopted by the General Assembly in 1788 declared: "The Presbyterian Church . . . do not even wish to see any religious constitution aided by the civil power, further than may be necessary for protection and security, and, at the same time, be equal and common to all others."

THINK OR "FIGHT"?

IN A press conference at the time Mr. Truman released the announcement that he was nominating General Mark Clark as representative to Rome, he is reported to have said that this is the time to "fight it out." The wording is unfortunate, and we are sure that the President would deplore an excess of passion in the discussion of this important question, for this issue needs to be *thought* out and not fought out. The less heat that accompanies this debate, the more light there will be to reveal the wisdom of the position of the fathers of our country. Too many have reacted violently to Mr. Truman's unwise action. It is unfortunate when the issue is narrowed to a conflict between Catholics and Protestants. We can depend upon many good Catholic friends to support us in resisting this attempt of the "clericalism" within their own Church to subvert a basic American principle.

Many convincing evidences could be cited of the faithfulness of Roman Catholic laymen to the traditions and free institutions of the United States.

to Faith

Witness the public-school issue in North College Hill, Cincinnati, Ohio. The effort of the Roman Catholic Church to gain control of the public schools was, according to the General Council of the Presbytery of Cincinnati (1947), resisted by "faithful Roman Catholics . . . [who] believe . . . in public schools free from sectarian control." According to Anson Phelps Stokes, in *Church and State in the United States*, Volume II, the vote on this issue in North College Hill that placed two Protestant members on the school board "was interesting for two reasons: it brought nearly all the voters to the polls, and it showed that though the town was fairly evenly divided between the two major religious groups, a large number of Catholics, believing that the former Catholic members had been wrong in trying to conduct the schools in a way inconsistent with our Constitutional Church-State separation, voted for the Protestant candidates."

Church should use for general distribution *Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican*, available from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.; five cents each, \$3.75 per hundred. An extensive and engrossing history of the relation of political and ecclesiastical institutions is found in the three-volume work by Anson Phelps Stokes, *Church and State in the United States*. General Assembly pronouncements on this issue are on the following page.

THE RESIGNATION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

Y OUR Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action submitted his resignation, effective February 1, 1952, in order to accept a call to the First Presbyterian Church of Salem, Oregon. A successor has not yet been chosen to carry the assignment for the Church's relation to international relations. The writer's concern for the application of the Christian gospel to our social and political problems will not be reduced by his return to the pastorate, even as his coming to this office did not mark the beginning of his conviction that the only "realistic" answer—the victory that overcomes the world and its problems—is our faith. Whatever "position" we hold, it is our duty and blessedness to discover and live in the way of our faith.

—Paul Newton Poling

G. A. PRONOUNCEMENTS — SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

(1940) "This General Assembly requests the President of the United States to terminate at the earliest possible date the unconstitutional relations established between our Government and the Vatican by the recent personal appointment of a representative with the rank of ambassador."

(1947) "This Committee reiterates the pronouncements of the Presbyterian Church regarding the personal representative of the President of the United States at the Vatican. The presence of such an official we regard as encouraging the unconstitutional adhesion of Church to State. We consider the presence of such a 'diplomat' unwarranted and unnecessary and call again for his immediate and permanent recall."

(1948) "The General Assembly shares the concern of many American citizens both inside and outside the Christian Churches of the United States that the traditional relationship between Church and State which has been one of the chief distinctions of the American way of life . . . shall be strictly maintained. The General Assembly views with deep apprehension any trend that, in the name of political expediency or humanitarian generosity, would give any one of the various religious organizations in this country a position of pre-eminence or privilege above that enjoyed by others."

(1949) "We reaffirm our belief in the traditional principle of relationship of Church and State embodied in the first amendment of the Constitution. We believe this means that both Church and State enjoy the esteem of each other, but that neither receives patronage or exercises control over the other. Therefore we look with apprehension at the trend in state and national legislative bodies that would give special privileges to certain religious organizations. . . . We reaffirm the pronouncements of previous General Assemblies opposing the maintenance of a personal representative at the Vatican by the President of the United States, and direct the Stated Clerk of this General Assembly vigorously to communicate this action to the President."

(1950) "We urge the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Congress to maintain the principle of separation of Church and State by scrupulously avoiding any official relations with the Vatican. We recommend that the Stated Clerk inform the above parties of the General Assembly's action."

THE CHRISTIAN AND HIS WORK

By ALEXANDER MILLER, *lecturer in religion at Stanford University.*

THE Reformation recovered the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, teaching men that the work of their hands and minds is an offering acceptable to God. It brings laborers and fishermen, shipbuilders and accountants, inside the chancel screen. It teaches that there is one fellowship of faith and obedience, and that, equally with the ministers, laymen have a high calling in Christ. Then it sends them out into professional and industrial and business life, to work there "as unto God."

What the Reformers meant by this doctrine of the calling, by which they put an end once and for all to the monastic idea and demolished the notion of a double standard of holiness, we do well to consider seriously. This particular insight springs historically, of course, out of the Reformation understanding of Christian faith.

Jesus Himself as "Worker"

The Reformers, like the Celtic and medieval monks, took seriously the word of the First Epistle of Peter, that Christ has left "us an example, that ye should follow his steps." But they would have questioned whether that had anything necessarily to do with copying the external life of

Jesus. In the first place, the Reformers held (with the whole Church) that Jesus is not primarily an example to copy, as if he had the same relation to God as other men have. He had work to do that no other has to do, that no other can do. By virtue of his special relation to God, whereby we may say that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," he had a work to do that no "mere man" could do.

That example is still of immense importance for us, but not in the sense that our external life should correspond to Jesus'. It is a misunderstanding to think that that man is most like Christ whose external life most closely resembles the life of Jesus in the days of his flesh. The man most like Christ is not necessarily the celibate, the preacher, the friar. The man most like Christ is the man who is faithful to God in his own calling as Christ was faithful in his. The just judge, the wise and humane administrator, the laborer or salesman, the farmer or the fisher—any of these may be more essentially conformed after the likeness of Christ than the preacher or the celibate monk. The test is not an external copying of the form of Jesus' life, but a selfless and ready submis-

sion like his to the will of God in the place to which God calls us.

Here is a doctrine that introduces a high and holy meaning into the most humdrum of occupations, provided it is directed to the common good. It gets rid of any idea that God is better served by "spiritual exercises" than by honest work.

Of course, like every true teaching, this insight is liable to be distorted by men to make it serve their private and sectional interests. Historically, the Reformation doctrine was used in dangerous ways. It was wrenched to provide divine sanction for any existing state of affairs—for example, in government, in business, and in the home.

Thus, in politics, the doctrine has often been given a reactionary twist, on the ground that, since God had "called" the ruler or the existing government to office, any revolt against him or it is a revolt against God and may be ruthlessly put down. Similarly, in a competitive and predatory economic system, the Protestant businessman has sometimes been inclined to hold that, since God has "called" him to a commercial life, his service of God and the degree of God's favor can be pretty exactly measured by his commercial success—that is, by the volume of his profits!

Duty to Obey—and Criticize

To outgrow narrow interpretations of God's will in any particular

area of life we must share with the Reformation the whole world view from which it drew its teaching. The Reformers found that this world view took in all of that life outside the Church where the faith has either not been heard of or is not believed. It is the business of the Christian to understand how the world is governed by God, even when it does not acknowledge his rule, and to understand life as subject to that rule in a world which, over large areas of its life, does not in fact acknowledge it.

Men may rebel against God's rule, and they do rebel, but that does not mean that he is any the less God, both in his power and in his love. Nations are his instruments even when they think they are serving only their own purposes.

There are plenty of examples of this forthright doctrine. The Reformation creed known as the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646), for example, says that the State is ordained of God "for His glory and the public good." John Calvin held that if a "prince"—that is, any political ruler—ceases to act justly he may be held of no more account than a pair of worn-out shoes; he should be got rid of and replaced by a ruler who knows his business under God.

Work as Response to Necessity

It is clear, I hope, how close the connection is between this basic understanding of the rule of God in hu-

man society and the particular understanding of man's daily work that is contained in the doctrine of the Christian man's calling, or vocation.

It is no accident that men live in a particular State. They must take seriously their duty in that State and live there "as unto God." It is no accident that men are born into a particular situation of life. They must take that situation seriously and live there "as unto God." This doctrine gives a high seriousness to all that men do, especially to that particular work by which they earn their bread.

This teaching is not based on any romantic idea that any particular State is perfect or that the conditions under which men earn their bread are Christian. The State is to be obeyed, not because it is perfect, but because it is necessary to reconcile conflicting interests and to achieve that minimum of order in society without which man's life can be neither truly human nor truly social.

So with the economic order in which men earn their bread or make a living, as we say. Every economic order the world has ever known has had elements of corruption and injustice in it, but this does not give Christian men any excuse for washing their hands of it or for not taking their daily work seriously. For it is by these makeshift political and economic orders that men are in some measure guarded against exploitation, and that men and women

and children do get their bread. No political system or economic order will redeem men or create full Christian community, but these nevertheless have their absolutely necessary place under the law of God, and we ought not to belittle what political effort has in fact done to protect the weak and to break the power of the strong.

The book of Genesis is entirely realistic about the fact that man's life is lived and his work is done under frustrating conditions, and that he never by any effort in this world comes to his heart's desire.

Should, then, men give up political effort or do their work in a slovenly way? Decidedly not, because the justification for political effort, and for daily work too, is not that they bring perfection but that they are humanly necessary. When they are accepted as necessary and performed with integrity, they have the blessing of God.

No thoughtful Christian scorns humdrum, repetitive, monotonous, or sordid work just because it does not give scope for craftsmanship and because it is very difficult to find zest in such work. He doesn't refuse, on Christian grounds, to work on a production line, for example, or to clean lavatories, or to wield a broom on the streets. There is an issue here, but we need to guard against any view of work that does not see as its first justification the necessity and not the artistic quality of a job. Our

self-centered and subjective-minded generation tends to think that work is justified only if it assists in the development of personality or some such thing. It is a good thing if work is creative or artistic in that sense, but that is not its first justification. Its first justification is true service of God, which it achieves if it contributes to the common good in practical ways.

Ready acceptance and faithful performance of that job because it is socially necessary will develop the only kind of personality worth developing.

Whatever criticisms we may have of any particular industrial and economic setup—and a Christian has plenty—we ought not to make our criticisms an excuse for doing our job badly. Normally, in fact, we earn the right to criticize only by doing our job exceptionally well. Even under an economic order as dubious and questionable as the present one undoubtedly is, most jobs are still necessary; and it is only by doing them regularly that society lives even as well as it does.

In other words, in our jobs as in our political life we must both accept and change what we find. A man holding a government office must take seriously the responsibilities of that office, for that is what his calling involves. But that ought to mean, among other things, a serious readiness to listen to the opposition's point of view and, under certain cir-

cumstances, a readiness to resign rather than retain office by unjust means or by the help of dubious allies. The businessman, by reason of his special calling, holds certain responsibilities that do not fall to the housewife, and one of them is to bring under Christian scrutiny the whole setup out of which profits are made. The father of a family is called to responsibilities beyond those of a single man, among them the responsibility of giving to other members of the family reasonable freedom and full voice in the family's affairs.

The Rule of God Is Total

God governs the economic as well as the spiritual life of men and society. To accept our vocation is to set all our life and all our activity under that rule. It means that the behavior of Christians and of the Christian community ought to be such that the very existence of the community in the world is a reminder of the name of God and of the will of God.

So in economic matters, if we put our economic life under scrutiny, it is obvious that certain kinds of inequality that are accepted in society become intolerable in the Church. If Christian solidarity means anything, it must express itself, not only in common prayer, but in economic sharing. There is no brotherhood where some have plenty and others go short. Historically, the Christian Church has never been without a

witness to this elemental Christian demand; and in our day, when the world is being torn apart by economic conflict, the demand has become inescapable.

Many Christians feel that they are tied hand and foot by the nature of the work they do and that, so long as they stay in that work, no clear Christian course is open to them. If they rest in this state of mind long enough, the natural outcome is that the sense of moral revolt dies down; they accept a situation that before offended their Christian conscience; and soon they are indistinguishable from the quiescent, conventional citizen, and of small use to God or man. We may be tied in some ways by our class situation, our educational and social inheritance, and by the nature of the work we do, but there is no reason why we should go on enjoying economic privilege if we decide not to. We can limit our personal expenditure by some measure of justice, and the experience of those who have undertaken a discipline of this kind is that it not only keeps conscience alive but leads out into many new kinds of constructive activity in identification with common men.

Generally, we shall find that we have two tasks. In the first place, we must see that our own immediate group is defended against exploitation and has its fair share in the general life of society. In the second place, we must serve the interests of

society as a whole and set ourselves against our own group if it tends to become a vested interest contrary to the general good.

The trade-union is an obvious instance of this double obligation. As long as the organization of industry embodies an actual or potential conflict of interests—between owners and workers—the trade-union is vitally important as a defense for the immediate interests of the workers. It is only their combined strength that can balance the power that ownership holds, make possible bargaining on reasonably equal terms, protect the workers against having to bear the brunt of economic difficulty, and give them some voice in determining the conduct of industry and the share of its product that is to go to them.

Christians in political and industrial life will always be eager to find ways by which they can reach across the boundaries set by group and class interests to effect reconciliations. They will try to wage the struggle for justice without hate and by methods that will not engender hate. They cannot avoid setting themselves in opposition to other men; yet they will take care to do so for justice' sake, and not for private ends. Where they fight, they will fight without any feeling of bitterness and with eagerness for reconciliation. But reconciliation can come only after justice is satisfied, not before.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

OPERATION WATCHDOG

The first phases of a long battle over separation of Church and State in the New Mexico public-school system came to a quiet end in November, and was reported in the *Santa Fe New Mexican*. Attorneys in the historic legal proceedings called the "Dixon Case" announced that there would be no further appeals. The Dixon group is determined, however, that the present rulings should be vigorously enforced.

The books are being closed on a Church-State controversy that attracted nationwide attention, brought about radical changes in the state school system, and indirectly affected the lives of thousands of school children in northern New Mexico. As a result of the Dixon action, New Mexico has now the best laws in the land relating to the separation of Church and State.

A twenty-five-year tradition—the employment of Catholic nuns and brothers as teachers in public schools—has been broken. Objections which non-Catholic groups found in the manner in which certain schools were conducted have been satisfied.

Some schools closed completely as a result of the Dixon case, and some new schools were born. More than one hundred teachers were specifically barred from ever again teaching in public schools of the state.

All in all, the Dixon case gave school administrators—as well as the citizens of New Mexico—a more definite idea of how closely religion and education could mingle in their public school.

The Dixon case was filed in Santa Fe district court on March 10, 1948, only two days after the U. S. Supreme Court had

ruled in another Church-school controversy at Champaign, Illinois. In that decision, the court held that religious classes—even when not compulsory—could not be taught in a public school.

The twenty-eight persons who joined to become plaintiffs in the Dixon suit charged that members of religious orders had failed to make adequate separation of religion and education in the public schools where they taught.

The suit, filed by Santa Fe attorney Harry Bigbee, charged that the teachers deliberately "introduced the teaching of Catholicism" into public schools. In fact, the suit contended, these schools, scattered in ten counties, were not public schools at all. They were Catholic schools.

Six months later the case came to trial before District Judge E. T. Hensley, Jr., of Portales. In the seven days of the trial, ninety-five witnesses took the stand and 178 exhibits were introduced as evidence. The black and brown habits of nuns and brothers were seen frequently in the courtroom, and dozens of members of religious orders took their turn in the witness chair.

Witnesses testified that crucifixes were displayed in classrooms, prayers were recited, and, in some schools, Catholic students were dismissed to visit a priest for confession during school hours.

Catholic teachers did not dispute many of the allegations, but emphasized that prayers were said only "before" and "after" regular school classes, and that religious instruction was not a part of the curriculum for non-Catholic students.

Five months later Hensley filed his full written decision and judgment in the case. It had an earthquake effect on most of the

school systems of northern New Mexico.

He specifically banned 124 nuns and brothers from future teaching in New Mexico public schools, ordered that tax-supported classes no longer be held in Church-owned buildings, and ruled that free textbooks and free bus transportation could not be extended to private and parochial schools.

On the other hand, Hensley found nothing wrong with the practice itself of employing nuns and brothers in public schools, provided that religious doctrine was not injected into their teaching.

The next round of the famous case took place in the state Supreme Court. While legal aspects were still being argued before the high court, Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne announced that members of Catholic orders would no longer take teaching jobs in the public schools.

This move, while not required under the district court decision of Judge Hensley, was obviously an effect of the Dixon case and served to eliminate the situations that had prompted the suit.

Defense attorneys sought to have the entire case dismissed because of Archbishop Byrne's announcement, but the Supreme Court held that the case should be pursued to its conclusion in a legal sense. A full eighteen months after the district court ruling, the Supreme Court handed down its decision.

Justice James McGhee in his Supreme Court opinion wrote that "a church cannot be permitted to operate a school system within our public-school system," which in effect had been the practice in the schools attacked in the Dixon complaint.

The Dixon group, composed of Presbyterian leaders, will continue their vigilant watch over the enforcement of the Hensley and the Supreme Court rulings. Already they are initiating action against violations of laws about the use of public-school buses.

Friends of the free schools case should continue their support of the Dixon Committee. Contributions may be sent to the Free Schools Committee, Dixon, New Mexico.

LETTER FROM THE DIXON FREE SCHOOLS COMMITTEE

Dixon, N.M.

Dear Friends,

Again after many months we have reached another milestone in our now-famous Dixon case. (See SOCIAL PROGRESS, December, 1949; November, 1950.) We have decided not to appeal to the United States Supreme Court for a number of reasons.

Before reaching our decision, we contacted many prominent attorneys in different parts of the United States who had studied the case from beginning to end. All of them felt, as did Judge Bigbee, that we stood a greater chance to lose some of the points we had gained in the New Mexico courts if we should appeal; that it was most doubtful if we could gain on the one

point we lost—namely, the barring of the "Religious" as a class. They stated that New Mexico now has the best law of any state in the Union in regard to sectarian influence in public schools, and that the Dixon Case Ruling can be used as a precedent by other states in fighting similar situations. They further pointed out that since no "Religious" are now teaching in the public schools of New Mexico, it would be as if we were fighting for the solution of a problem that no longer exists. If in the future the "Religious" should infiltrate back into the New Mexico schools in any disguise, they say such action would add force to our argument that they must be barred as a class.

Judge Bigbee advises us that now our

responsibility is to see that the present Hensley and Supreme Court rulings are obeyed. We are all aware that the Hensley ruling has been disregarded from the very beginning. Our policy in the future will be to proceed with contempt of court action wherever we find violations. In the immediate future, we expect to bring court action in regard to school buses. We can see that this is to be a lifelong struggle. Religion and politics are a formidable combination—in the field of education they are a real menace to our concept of

truly free American schools where truth should be taught unhampered.

If we had not known that we had such a host of friends behind us, who felt as we do, we would never have been able to bring this case to such a satisfactory conclusion. Our deepest gratitude goes to every one of you.

Sincerely yours,

Lydia C. Zellers

Olive Bowen

Porfirio Romero

Clifford Earle

Congress Spends \$91 Billion

Less than one half of one per cent of all the money Congress has appropriated goes for United States contributions to all international organizations, including the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the Pan American Union, and some twenty other international agencies.

For Guns and Armies

A total of \$70 billion has been appropriated for defense, both here and abroad. The entire expenditure of the Federal Government for the first one hundred and thirty-five years of the history of this republic was approximately \$66 billion, and of this amount approximately \$56 billion was for military purposes.

The biggest single item voted by Congress was a record-breaking peacetime arms vote of \$56.9 billion. Another \$4.1 billion will be spent for the construction and expansion of military bases all over the globe, with the aim of surrounding Russia with bases from which war may be waged if necessary.

Also, the Mutual Security Program this year cost \$7.3 billion for other nations' arms and armies. Less than one fifth of this sum will go for economic aid to these countries—aid that will, for the most part, enable them to bolster their economies for

greater arms production. The Technical Assistance Program will have only \$150 million for basic help all over the world.

Finally, another \$1.6 billion will be spent by emergency agencies, such as Civilian Defense and the Office of Price Stabilization.

For Mutual Security

This foreign aid program provides more than \$5.7 billion for direct military aid and \$1.4 billion for economic assistance to increase the military effectiveness of the countries receiving help, with the possibility of transferring ten per cent of the funds allocated to Europe from economic to military aid or vice versa. The funds are to be distributed as follows:

Military	Economic
<i>Europe</i>	
\$4,818,852,457	\$1,022,000,000
<i>Near East, Africa</i>	
396,250,000	160,000,000
<i>Asia, Pacific</i>	
535,250,000	237,156,866
<i>American Republics</i>	
38,150,000	21,245,653

Congress took the largest cut from Administration requests for economic aid to Europe, which will now receive about half

of what was originally planned. However, \$100 million may be spent for arms aid to Spain if the President wishes to use it. Up to \$100 million of the European military aid can be used to recruit refugees from Iron Curtain countries for military units. Up to \$10 million of European economic aid can be used to encourage emigration from overpopulated areas to those with manpower shortages, but to areas other than the United States. Not more than 10 per cent of the Near East military appropriations can be used for countries other than Greece, Turkey, and Iran. Fifty million dollars of the economic aid for the Near East and Africa can be used for Arab refugees from Palestine and another \$50 million for aid to refugees going to Israel. The President is authorized to switch up to 10 per cent of the funds from one area to another. He is also empowered to spend \$50 million of the arms fund for Asia without specifying the nature of the spending if it is in the interests of United States security. Forty-five million dollars may be contributed to the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency, but up to 50 per cent of this could be transferred to the economic funds for the Pacific area. The director of the newly established Mutual Security Agency,

W. Averell Harriman, will co-ordinate the operations of the State and Defense Departments in the Mutual Security Program.

For International Organizations

The \$30 million appropriated for United States contributions to all international organizations was divided among major organizations in this way:

United Nations	\$16.3 million
UNESCO	2.8 million
World Health Org.	2.4 million
Food & Agriculture Org.	1.3 million
International Labor Org.	1.4 million

The Rooney Amendment limits all further U. S. contributions to any international organizations to one third of the organization's total budget in spite of the fact that the United States has about half of the world's income and our Government has required no such rigid proportion when it came to arming countries—only when it comes to helping them. This will affect the United Nations and the Caribbean Commission, though these contributions may be increased by a clause that allows for some exceptions.

"THE CHALLENGE"

New civil rights film, *The Challenge*, is a stirring new documentary movie just released by The March of Time Forum Films as a picture-dramatization of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. A wanton murder of a Negro citizen who has just discharged his civic duty by voting at the polls sends a photographer-reporter team into a nation-wide investigation. They begin with the four essential rights stated by the President's Committee: the right of safety and security of person, the right of citizenship, equality of opportunity, and freedom of conscience and expression. Their fact-

finding takes them to every part of the country and brings to light many infringements on these four rights but also some examples of social progress and the good work being done by schools, churches, and civic groups.

The three-reel sound film ends with the story of civil rights still unfinished business—a challenge to all Americans!

Schedule showings in your church and community as a basis for discussion and study of human rights. For information and rental arrangements write The March of Time Forum Films, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Sanctuary

MY FATHER'S BUSINESS

Let us worship:

"The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works."—*Ps. 145: 17.*

Let us sing:

Hymn: "The Light of God Is Falling."

Let us think upon the Word of God:

"So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him."—*Gen. 1: 27.*

When God created man in his own image, he made of him a creator also. He placed deep within him the urge to build, to make something from nothing, to bring order and design to his environment. This instinct is evident not only in the artist, the poet, the musician—it is seen in the baby, building wavering towers of blocks; in his mother, making her cookies into fat, brown men with raisin eyes; in the laborer who puts his own secret mark in the square of cement paving he has smoothed. It is an integral part of each of us.

"And he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship. . . . Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work, of the engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any work."—*Ex. 35: 31, 35.*

There was no doubt in Moses' mind that each man had a talent and a task, nor that it was God who gave to each the skill to do his work. A tragic feature of our day is the division and subdivision of work that continually limits and narrows each man's job, until it takes a high degree of imagination for any of us to see his part in the total operation. The complex economic structure of our society has made each of us a specialist and robbed us of our vision of the whole. We are like tiny pieces in a gigantic jigsaw puzzle, so similar in size and shape and coloring that we ourselves sometimes doubt that we have identity and individuality. We need to take a look at the picture on the cover of the box to reassure ourselves, to remind ourselves that we are part of a planned program, that each of us has his own place.

"I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day."—*John 9: 4.*

"What is so Christian," bitterly asked a boy at summer conference, "in driving a truck all day." Or in pounding a typewriter, adds his sister, or selling screws in a five-and-ten. A Christian wants to do more than make a living. He wants to do something that counts, to be about his Father's business. It is his birthright. But so much of our work today is so far removed, equally from its cause and its effect, from

the need which creates it and the filling of that need, that it seems unimportant and certainly unconsecrated. We need the vision of the monk scouring his pots in the monastery kitchen:

There is no small work unto God.
 He required of us greatness;
 Of His least creature
 A high angelic nature,
 Stature superb and bright completeness,
 He sets to us no humble duty.
 Each act that He would have us do
 Is haloed round with strangest beauty;
 Terrific deeds and cosmic tasks
 Of His plainest child He asks.

Purger of all men's thoughts and ways,
 With labor do I sound Thy praise,
 My work is done for Thee.

—Anna Hempstead Branch.

"In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, Holiness unto the Lord; and the pots in the Lord's house shall be like bowls before the altar."—Zech. 14: 20.

Zechariah was looking forward to a completely consecrated society, where all evil had disappeared, and each man's task was his opportunity for worship. In such a time, not only the farmer reaping his harvest, but the cannery employee tending his machine, the trucker hauling cartons of breakfast cereal, the checker at the supermarket, all are consciously feeding the hungry. In that day, each individual knows that he is about his Father's business, and worships as he works.

Let us bow in a period of guided silent prayer for our world:

Let us thank God for giving us a share in the thrill of creation; for the power to dream dreams and see visions; for the power to build our visions into reality. Let us pray for the disinherited sons of men:

For those who have forgotten that work is a gift of God, and are trying to fill their empty days with the fruits of other men's labors.

For those who earnestly desire to do their part in the work of the world, but who are prevented by their own physical limitations, or by the complexities of our modern system.

Let us pray that we may be forgiven for discouragement, doubt, and despair; for giving less than our best; for neglecting the humble task at hand to reach for a more glorious one.

Let us pray that the Kingdom of our Father be established among us, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

"Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it." Amen.

—Prepared by Mrs. Harry R. Roach, Columbus, Ohio.

About Books

The Travail of Religious Liberty, nine biographical studies by Roland H. Bainton. The Westminster Press. \$4.00.

The author of *The Church of Our Fathers* has recorded other refreshing insights into the problems of the past. This time he highlights the story of the laborious birth of religious liberty in the early years of the Reformation told in terms of the struggles of nine men of conviction. The biographical approach has been taken so that "a picture of one man burned, one man broken, one man exiled, may invest with meaning all the thousands and the tens of thousands."

The nine selected fall into three groups. In the first group dealing with Protestant and Catholic persecution, there is Thomas of Torquemada, fanatically orthodox Dominican friar who faced a housing shortage in overflowing all the dungeons of Toledo with his accused. He is followed by Calvin, with his wartime psychology in a city perpetually menaced with extinction, and his victim Michael Servetus. This dark chapter is charitably dismissed with the provocative remark, "We are today horrified that Geneva should have burned a man for the glory of God, yet we incinerate whole cities for the saving of democracy."

The second part of the book presents the toleration controversy that ensued. Three lesser known but intriguing characters are presented—Sébastien Castellio the Remonstrator, David Joris the hypocrite, and Bernardino Ochino the heretic perpetually in exile.

The third section deals with the freedom of the individual in the seventeenth century. Here Milton, Roger Williams, and John Locke are each highlighted and their

work evaluated. Bainton concludes with a chapter called "Reflections," and his final remark sums up the reason for this book. "Civil liberties scarcely thrive where religious liberties are disregarded, and the reverse is equally true. Beneath them all is a philosophy of liberty which assumes a measure of variety in human behavior, honors integrity, respects the dignity of man, and seeks to exemplify the compassion of God."

This creative insight into the problem of freedom is based on the Sprunt Lectures that the author gave at Union Seminary in Richmond during 1950. They evidence the firsthand familiarity with sources and the stimulating discrimination in choice of subject and quotation which one would expect from such a scholar. Often he handles heavy subjects with a refreshingly humorous touch. Without his introduction Bernardino Ochino would have remained a name in seminary Church history notes. Now we can remember him as one who wrote a collection of anecdotes with such persiflage as this: "Two Roman nobles were accused of rejecting prayers to the saints. The first justified himself on the ground that one should pray only to Christ. He was sent to the stake. The second justified himself on the ground that one should address oneself only to the pope. He was made a bishop."

Toward Calvin the author seems to be able to restrain his enthusiasm, but in considering Roger Williams there is the warmth one might expect from a Yale professor.

This is a significant book to be added to those buttressing the cause of religious liberty in our present time. Sometimes we

like to think the fight is over and the victory won, but both history and the headlines reveal a never-ceasing bubbling of the caldrons. The average minister needs this sharper delineation of the issues that still confront us. The Westminster Press has shown discriminating judgment and performed a real service in publishing such a book at such a time as this.

—John Bouquet

Financing Defense, by Albert G. Hart and others. The Twentieth Century Fund, Inc. \$2.00.

This volume is the second in a series of Twentieth Century Fund reports on how to "protect and maintain the civilian economy in a period of defense mobilization such as that to which the U. S. is now committed." The first report, *Defense Without Inflation*, surveyed the dangers to our American economy implicit in the rearmament program and gave a general program for dealing with them. This volume is a technical study of Federal tax and expenditure policies with a detailed consideration of subsidies and tariffs, commodity taxes, personal taxes, and taxes on profits.

To a layman like myself this book is not exciting reading; but it is the kind of study that should be required of all of us who think we know the answers about such technical matters as excess-profits taxes and national sales taxes. It should be required reading for all members of the various state "taxpayers associations" who are inclined to let propagandists do their economic thinking for them, for all the gullible ministers who allow their names to appear on the mastheads of such papers as "Christian Economics" (sic!), and for all who hide their economic views behind a smoke screen of spiritual mobilization.

Here is not a radical book but a realistic one, economically sound and socially concerned. It states the general logic of defense taxation in two sentences (p. 18): "National policy drafts for defense use

manpower, materials and facilities that would otherwise be making civilian goods. The financial counterpart of this draft of real resources is to draft also the dollars we would otherwise be spending on the civilian goods we cannot allow ourselves." The focus all the way through is on taxes and expenditure reductions as anti-inflation measures, but attention is given to the effects of these proposals upon the mobilization program, production incentives, enforcement problems and fairness to all kinds of people. It seeks to survey all the tax possibilities as potential elements in keeping our economy stable even in these times.

This book gives no encouragement to those who think of economics as a stable, rigid subject. It makes very clear the utter lack of clarity in the economic scene today. Yet the authors are emphatic about the fact that "inflation can be controlled only by increased taxes" (p. 35) and they make proposals for a \$16 billion increase in revenue.

We can be grateful to the Twentieth Century Fund for preparing these studies and can hope that Congressmen read and study them. But after all is said and done there is the lingering conviction that it would be far simpler and easier to reorder our national and international life along "the ways that make for peace" than to try to finance a defense which after all is no real defense against the spiritual ills of our society and the forces of wickedness at work in this country and over the world.

—John P. McConnell

The Rise and Fall of Civilization, by Shepard B. Clough. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. \$4.50.

Here is a brief and helpful study of the relationship between economic development and civilization, written by an economic historian who is professor of European history at Columbia University.

In his first chapter or foreword the

author states that his purpose in writing is to help modern man to have a fuller comprehension of what makes civilizations rise and fall. He finds men groping among the present answers, which he feels are inadequate, and states the hypothesis that relative economic well-being in society is one of the most necessary conditions to a high stage of civilization. He warns that the place of the economic factors must not be exaggerated, and states that the controlling ideologies of a culture are in fact of equal, if not greater, importance.

To prove his point of the importance of economic well-being to the advance of civilization, he reviews the history of the civilizations that have most affected our life in the West, beginning with the earliest cultures and coming down to our present day.

Had the subtitle, "How Economic Development Affects the Culture of Nations," been used as a title, the reviewer would have been more satisfied. The present title claims too much. The record as narrated in the book clearly shows the interrelation of economic activities and the rise and fall of civilizations. It does not prove, however, that the economic factors are the necessary determining ones. Much that is decisive in the fluctuating scene is left out, or all too briefly mentioned. Too little is made of spiritual qualities and factors that relate so vitally to the economic factors, and which have a most decisive bearing on civilizations.

If we know that we should not be anxious over economic matters as a way of advancing our civilization, but rather that we should be seeking the Kingdom of God and his righteousness first, we can be greatly helped by reading this book. For economic matters do belong to the Kingdom, and this book emphasizes their importance. There is much good history and information in the book itself, and much more listed for supplementary reading at the end of each chapter.

—R. Murray Jones

The Superstitions of the Irreligious,
by George Hedley. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

In his latest book, George Hedley, Dean of the Chapel at Mills College, adheres to his well-established tradition of not bothering to answer questions that nobody has asked and of not wasting his ammunition on targets that "are no longer there."

Though the subject affords many opportunities for an author to indulge in unkind, not to say angry, words, you will search this book in vain for such. Even when he tells his irreligious friends that he is "fed up" with them: (1) because they know so pathetically little about religion; (2) because they know so much about it that simply isn't true; (3) because they refuse to learn anything about anything so long as it is called "religion"; and (4) because they still insist on talking, you feel he is doing this in the best of good humor, because he is prepared to make his gibes stick. Readers of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* will particularly enjoy Dr. Hedley's devastating discussion of Superstition No. 7, "that religious people are socially unconscious."

Furthermore, this genial and good-natured listing of the foibles of the irreligious is not an uncritical eulogy of the religious. Dean Hedley does not forget that humility is a prescribed, not an elective, virtue of a Christian. To make doubly sure that no trace of self-righteousness mars the book, his concluding chapter deals with "The Religiousness of the Irreligious."

This is a book a reader will wish to own, since the temptation to mark it up for the easy reading of selections to friends will prove irresistible! In it, the religious and the irreligious alike will find solid information capable of resolving their respective superstitions and of making room within their minds and hearts for religion pure and undefiled before the God and Father of us all.

—Lynn Townsend White

"GOD . . . HATH MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

*A Message for Race Relations Sunday, February 10, 1952, from
the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United
States of America.*

FOURSCORE and seven years ago one of our forefathers fell before an assassin's hand. A gaunt, homespun man he was, ridiculed by opponents as a rail splitter and backwoodsman. A common man he was, and we have done well to place his image on our most common coin. He is honored throughout the world today as probably the greatest American.

We honor Abraham Lincoln for his personal greatness, but we have left unfinished his work of emancipation. A revolution in race relations has been taking place in America in the last decade; old fetters are breaking and a new spirit of reconciliation is abroad in the land. But too often still the vague fact of color and the vaguer theories of race overshadow the deeper fact of brotherhood among all men. Emancipated, the Negro is not yet given equal freedom. Welcomed as cheap labor, newly arrived members of minority groups, including Jews, Orientals, and Mexicans, are still treated cheaply in many ways. The American Indian, on a continent earlier his own, continues to suffer from ex-

ploitation and limited opportunity.

The whole world watches every denial of human brotherhood. The issue of race has become crucial in a time when men must learn to live as brothers if they are to live at all. In Asia and Africa nonwhite peoples are breaking old bonds of domination and are struggling toward equal status in the world. On occasion their aspirations are thwarted by newer and subtler forms of tyranny, but they will not be forever denied. The struggle for racial equality is a central aspect of the current conflict among the nations, and tyranny can hardly be defeated in one sphere unless it is rejected in every form, everywhere.

THE findings of science and the ideals of democracy agree with the Christian faith in proclaiming the unity and the essential equality of all men. But Christian faith goes deeper and bases its teaching on foundations that can never be shaken. It affirms that men are not only equal under God, but also brothers: "For we are also his offspring." He has made us all of one

blood; we are all kinsmen in the only family that shall endure forever. We are required, therefore, not only to tolerate one another and to deal justly the one with the other; more profoundly, we must actually love each other. Because God our Father loves us all, our love must be without sham. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son."

God gives life to every man; for all men did Christ die and rise again. Under God every infraction of brotherhood will come to judgment; in Christ men are bound inseparably together.

The faith we profess condemns all racial division and directs our feet toward a new way. The Christian churches have succumbed largely to racial lines. Now we are moving toward unity in race relations and toward integration in a more blessed

community. We must hasten: the times are urgent and our imperatives are clear.

Justification is coming for the faith of a tall man—a gaunt man so tall that his image will fall across centuries, a homespun man of the people who believed that the people under God, at last, would find the way to brotherhood.

A time of testing has come for that greater faith which the centuries have not obscured: the assurance that we live and move and have our own true being in God the Father, whose offspring we are and whose redemptive love enables us to treasure all men as brothers.

The National Council of Churches is indebted to Dean Liston Pope of the Yale University Divinity School for drafting this Message.

Everyone Welcome in Our Churches

Our General Assembly's declarations in 1946 for a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society were courageous and critically important. To help our Presbyterian churches achieve this high goal, the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations was chartered to conduct a three-year period of experimentation in co-operation with the Division of Social Education and Action.

The findings of the Institute are incorporated in *Everyone Welcome*, the handbook on racial and cultural relations for local churches. The material was prepared by Dr. William H. McConaghy and Dr. Jesse Belmont Barber, who directed the Institute. The handbook has been edited by the Division of Social Education and Action, and includes the results of a significant survey of the membership practices of our Presbyterian churches, and a great variety of program and action projects for individuals and groups. Copies of *Everyone Welcome* may be ordered from Presbyterian Distribution Services later in February, 50 cents a copy.

THE LAW GIVES CONSCIENCE A HELPING HAND

By HENRY W. POPE, *Field Secretary, National Urban League*, and RICHARD A. STIMSON, *Public Information Director, Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc.*

EXECUTIVE Order 8802, issued in 1941 by the President, struck a note of cheer and hope in the hearts of millions of Americans—especially members of minority groups. Prior to this date a great depression together with prejudice and discrimination had contrived to deprive many qualified workers of merited opportunity to earn a living solely because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Prior to World War II the position of minority groups in many industries was precarious. For example, Negroes, as a result of discriminatory policies of employers and of some building craft unions, had been steadily losing out as skilled building craftsmen; indeed, but for the intervention of the Federal Government they might have been excluded altogether. In 1936 the Federal Government required that on all Federally financed construction Negroes be given a fair share of jobs.

During the war years spectacular gains were made in the number and types of jobs held by minority group workers in industry and government

service. A combination of factors produced these results—tight labor supply, Federal FEPC, and other efforts in behalf of national unity. Happily many of these gains have extended through the postwar years.

During these intervening years discussion, debates, and arguments have proceeded apace. Some have argued that attitudes can't be legislated. Others have insisted that the effect of prejudicial attitudes can be minimized and controlled within limits by constructive legislation and machinery for its implementation; that laws in a democratic society "can be important instruments in crystallizing the major objectives toward which a society is proposed to move."

A wealth of interesting and encouraging experience has been accumulated by Fair Employment Practice agencies.

A Chance for Bill Jones

A tall youth stood uneasily before the desk of Robert F. Thomas, employment manager of the big factory in Northeastern City. He showed his disappointment as Mr. Thomas said,

"Jones, we don't have any opening for you."

Walking slowly home, Bill Jones wondered about the sentence. Did Mr. Thomas mean there were no openings at all, or just that there were no openings for . . .

Bill's gloomy thoughts were interrupted by the approach of his friend Dick Jackson, director of the Community Center. "Are you on your way to or from the funeral?" Dick inquired.

"I guess I don't look very happy," admitted Bill Jones. "I'm not having much luck finding a job. I've tried everything."

"What work have you done?" Jackson asked.

"Power press," Bill replied. "I worked for Central for about a year, until they moved."

"The Thomas Company has been advertising for power press operators."

"I was just there," sighed Bill. "Nothing doing. I didn't really expect anything. They've never hired any colored."

"I know. Well, that's racial discrimination and there's a state law against it. I'll tell you whom to see and you can make a complaint."

While the case of Bill Jones and the Thomas Company is an imaginary illustration, hundreds of similar incidents have resulted in complaints to state antidiscrimination agencies. The existence of such agencies is a new twist in states' rights. States

often claim the right *not* to make progress. Some progressive states, however, have been the proving ground for laws that the Federal Government has failed to pass.

This has been the case with FEPC. The wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee of President Roosevelt was dropped by Congress very unceremoniously. The chances of a permanent Federal FEPC seem still quite remote.

Seven states (New Mexico, Washington, Oregon, Rhode Island, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Colorado) are pioneering in civil rights with their own Fair Employment Practices laws. Four states (New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut) have had four to seven years experience in administering these laws. Indiana and Wisconsin in their fair employment "laws" have no machinery for enforcing compliance. All the laws are remarkably similar although the enforcement agencies differ.

Of the four states of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, with the longest experience, none has found it necessary to ask the courts to enforce compliance. In fact, in only four cases have formal hearings been held. Yet all the Commissions have overcome many racial barriers.

Laws Get Results

The most dramatic result has been the opening of employment oppor-

tunities that have been traditionally "for whites only." A study in 1948 by the National Urban League revealed that the five cities leading in private employment of Negroes in white-collar jobs were New York City (2,613), Chicago (2,524), Boston (886), Newark (148), and Hartford (106). Chicago is one of several cities with Fair Employment ordinances (among the others being Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Phoenix, and Cleveland). The figures do not include Negro white-collar workers in businesses with primarily Negro clientele or ownership.

There is only slight variation in methods among the Fair Employment states because the 1945 New York "Law Against Discrimination" has served as a model for the rest. Co-operation among the state anti-discrimination agencies also tends to bring about uniformity. Annual working conferences of the agencies from New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island have been held for the past three years to compare and improve methods.

How FEPC Works

Let us follow the case of Bill Jones and the Thomas Company to see how a state antidiscrimination agency works. Dick Jackson, director of the Community Center, had given Bill the telephone number of the agency, and, somewhat apprehensively, Bill

had called to make his complaint. His name and address were taken and he was asked to visit the office to make a formal statement. He asked whether he needed a lawyer, and he learned it was permitted but not necessary. At the office of the state agency an investigator helped him to prepare his complaint.

"What good will this do?" asked Bill.

"It depends on what we discover," explained the investigator. "First we must check the facts. If we find discrimination, we'll try to get rid of it by conciliation first. If necessary, we can hold a hearing."

The next few days Bill continued to look for work without finding anything more than a few odd jobs. Whenever he phoned the investigator it was the same answer: "We're checking the facts."

Then in Friday morning's mail he found a letter from the Thomas Company. He fumbled with the envelope and tore it open. His eyes watered as the words jumped up at him:

If you are still available for work, please report to the employment office as soon as possible.

*The Thomas Company
Robert F. Thomas
Employment Manager*

As Bill was getting ready the telephone rang. It was the investigator to explain that the records of the Thomas Company showed that they had hired men with poorer qualifications than Bill's, and that they had

to agree to hire Bill. The investigator also assured him that the company had promised to give a fair chance to all other applicants.

At the employment office Bill was taken promptly to Mr. Thomas' desk.

"Jones—er, Mister Jones," began the manager, "you are the first—that is, the first one of your race in our factory. It may be hard, but you've got to make good for the sake of others who may come after you. You see what I mean, don't you?"

"I think so, sir." Bill was not sure that all this preparation was really necessary—after all, he had gone to school with whites and worked with whites before. Mr. Thomas was continuing in the same vein:

"You will be a missionary for your race. If you make them like you, they'll like other members of your race." Bill was thinking to himself: Suppose I were a real stinker, that's no reason to blame it on my color. Aloud he said, "I've always tried to do my best, anyway, Mr. Thomas."

Bill was relieved when the interview finally ended. He was turned over to a foreman who seemed to be a good fellow. As he worked his first day or two some of the other press operators were a bit slow to make friends with him but he was greeted warmly by a few workers including some he had known in high school. When Mr. Thomas called him in to ask him how everything was going he was able honestly to answer, "Fine!"

The procedure used in the case of

Bill Jones and the Thomas Company is typical of all the Fair Employment states. The state antidiscrimination agency is required by law to investigate each complaint and then, if a violation is found, to attempt to adjust the complaint by "conference, conciliation, and persuasion." The settlement may even require the employer to make up back pay or otherwise compensate the victim of discrimination. He is often required to broaden his sources of recruitment to give all potential applicants a chance. The threat of a public hearing, although only a few have been held, causes many an employer to accept a voluntary settlement that calls for a significant change in his employment practices.

Cases from the Files

Let's look at some typical cases based on reports released by state antidiscrimination agencies.

The Case of the Railway Dining Cars. The New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company had begun to use a grill car in place of the traditional dining car and the new cars were being staffed with white personnel instead of colored waiters. Sixty colored employees made complaints of discrimination, fourteen to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination and forty-six to the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. Some complaints charged that Negroes were refused promotion to the

position of steward on the dining cars.

When the New York and Massachusetts commissions had both investigated and found "probable cause for crediting the allegations," they agreed to proceed by joint action in adjusting the complaints. The agreement finally reached with the railroad allowed the employer to designate a particular sex for a particular type of employment but provided for equal opportunity regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The effect of such an agreement goes beyond the thousands of employees of this one railroad to influence the employment policies of other railroads and other employers.

The Case of the Missing Seniority. In New Jersey a worker complained that he was being passed over for upgrading, overtime assignments, and other benefits because of his Mohammedan religion. The complaint was satisfactorily adjusted, after thorough investigation of union-management practices, when local union officials corrected their records and admitted the complainant to the enjoyment of the privileges of seniority.

Because of the Fair Employment laws a number of nation-wide labor organizations have revoked exclusionary clauses in their constitutions and bylaws and others have taken action to make such clauses inoperative in the Fair Employment states.

The latter is similar to the practice of at least one nation-wide employer that uses revised application forms in the Fair Employment states. In other states the form contains questions about religion, lineage (Scotch, German, Hebrew, English, etc.), father's birthplace, mother's birthplace, and requires a photograph attached. The heading reads: "This Form Not to Be Used in the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey."

The Case of Phony Experience. In Connecticut a power press operator complained to the Commission on Civil Rights that an employer refused to hire her because of color. It appeared on the surface that the complainant did not have as extensive experience as any of the workers who were being hired. The Commission discovered, however, that although the applicants who had been hired all claimed more than two years' experience as power press operators, eight of them had never had such experience and none of them had as much as the eight months' actual experience of the complainant. Faced with these facts, the company hired the complainant and later reported that several more Negro women and men had been employed.

Among others there are three reasons why discriminators come to terms with the antidiscrimination agencies:

1. Fair Employment policies can be shown to make sense economi-

cally as well as ethically. State anti-discrimination agencies have placed great emphasis upon an educational approach designed to allay fears and overcome ignorance about minorities. The law requires the employer to hire the best-qualified applicants, the employment agency to refer its best-qualified clients, and the labor union not to place unfair restrictions on its membership. It would be foolish for these organizations to defy a law that is in their own best economic interests.

2. The Fair Employment laws in the states mentioned have real teeth. Fines and imprisonment can be decreed for last-ditch refusal to comply.

3. Perhaps the most important sanction is the desire of the respondent not to be shown up as discriminatory in a public hearing.

The number of complaints received during the most recent reporting year in the four pioneer Fair Employment states was as follows: New York, 315; New Jersey, 140; Massachusetts, 117; and Connecticut, 177. The report of the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination did not give any information as to the closing of cases. The number on which action was completed during the same year in the other states was: New York, 282; Massachusetts, 60; and Connecticut, 90.

The New York State Commission Against Discrimination discovered probable cause for crediting the specific charges in 29 per cent of its

completed cases, and an additional 24 per cent revealed evidence of a general discriminatory policy. The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination states that 54 per cent of the cases that went to final disposition in the conciliation stage were effective in erasing a discriminatory practice. The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights reported that violations were found and eliminated in 60 per cent of its completed cases.

Each of the state antidiscrimination agencies has processed informal complaints and conducted investigations in addition to its formal complaints. They all consider the process of Fair Employment enforcement primarily educational. To the extent that budget and time permit they also engage in general education through pamphlets, radio programs, conferences, audio-visual materials, public speaking, workshops, and institutes.

The far-reaching direct and indirect results are not yet measurable. But because of such legislation, the work of Government agencies, and the work of private agencies—the National Urban League and others—interested in fair employment practices, thousands of employers and workers have discovered that decent and fair employment practices pay big dividends in improved human relations, efficient production, and marked advance in this nation toward true democracy.

CLOSE BINDING ALL MANKIND—A COVENANT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

By RENÉ CASSIN, *Vice-Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights.*

A world statesman reports problems and progress in the drafting of the Covenant of Human Rights required to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Reprinted from the UNESCO Courier, December, 1951.

PERIODS of international tension do not lend themselves to the advancement of the freedoms and rights of mankind. On the one hand, rearmament and the security measures taken in the different countries inevitably lead to a restriction of liberty and act as a drag on social and educational progress. On the other hand, on an international level, the representatives of the various Governments are less inclined to assume new obligations for their countries and to allow international organizations any greater "right of inspection" in matters so far regarded as purely national.

It is therefore hardly surprising that in 1951, six years after the signature of the United Nations Charter and three years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the labors devoted by the Commission on Human Rights to the Covenant and the methods of implementing it have not yet led to results that can be submitted for the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations, now in session.

The general public is justifiably uneasy at this long delay. The contrast between hopes and facts—too often harsh—is all the more keenly felt because, thanks to the United Nations information services and to the laudable efforts of UNESCO and the non-Governmental organizations, the public has become familiar with the terms of the Universal Declaration and now awaits the completion of the other two panels of the triptych promised to the peoples of the world.

But what the public does not know—and here it is our duty to enlighten it—is the immediate, the outstanding difficulties with which those working on the Covenant have met. There are, as I see it, four fundamental questions.

1. What Form of Covenant?

Would it be better to have (as the British and the Americans, supported by India, suggest) a number of separate pacts, ratified independently of each other, each covering one group of related freedoms and rights (individual, civil, and public

freedoms; economic, social, and cultural rights; family rights; political rights; etc.), or, as asserted by the Slav countries and certain European, Latin-American, and Asiatic states, to adopt a single covenant, in conformity with a declaration inspired by the unity of mankind, and thus, at one stroke, convert most of the rights and freedoms proclaimed in that declaration into binding legal obligations?

The 1950 Assembly, in giving its instructions to the Commission on Human Rights, opted for the second of these ideas. And in the spring of 1951 the Commission prepared a draft in conformity with this ruling, taking account of a French suggestion that allowance should be made for differences in the wording of the pledges given by the various states, which should correspond to the differences in character between options of freedoms (calling for legislation involving no very great expense) and individual rights requiring state aid (such as social reforms and long-term plans backed by large-scale resources).

Both groups—the advocates of the multiple and those of the single form of covenant—intend to raise the question again, for the purpose of wresting from the 1951 Assembly a hard-and-fast ruling in conformity with their views. We ourselves hope that the General Assembly will reject both of these extreme solutions, for the adoption of either would con-

siderably delay the date at which our work could be brought to fruition.

2. Supervision of Progress

The second difficulty is to decide which international organizations shall be entrusted with supervising the progress made by each state in the field of human rights, and with considering any complaints that may be made against one state or another on the ground that it has violated the Covenant.

Here we are faced with two ideas that are not easy to reconcile. The first is that the general safeguarding of human rights is a matter for the United Nations—more particularly for their Commission on Human Rights, which was set up in accordance with the Charter—and, in regard to certain of these rights, for the Specialized Agencies, like the International Labor Organization, UNESCO, World Health Organization, etc. But according to the second idea—that of equality and reciprocity between states—those signing and ratifying the covenant would be authorized to reject all interference or supervision at the hands of countries that refused to accept the obligations of the covenant as binding upon themselves. Care must be taken not to alienate the most co-operative among the states by giving them reason to fear that they may become the guinea pigs of a world-wide experiment, the continual butts of the rest.

Here again a constructive basis is offered by the draft covenant. It vests the right of general and periodical supervision of the progress achieved in the signatory states, and even in those bound only by the Charter, in the Commission on Human Rights, whose authority would be linked and co-ordinated, if need be, with that of ILO, UNESCO, etc. The right to deal with complaints made against a signatory state would be vested in a new body, made up of independent persons of distinction, who would be selected by the International Court of Justice from nominees proposed only by the signatory states.

Much, it is true, still remains to be done. The question arises, for instance, whether this future committee is to be maintained at the expense of the United Nations as a whole, or only of the signatories to the covenant. But the right path seems to have been found; as the adherents to the covenant increase in number, the difficulties will progressively diminish.

3. Appeals Against Violations

The third crucial difficulty consists in deciding who is to be entitled to appeal to the new Human Rights Committee in the event of any violation of human rights in a given country. Should the appeal be made only by another signatory state, as desired by those Governments that dislike innovations? Or should the right of petition be extended also to individ-

uals (even against their own Government) and to non-Governmental organizations, such as those which have already been granted consultative status by the United Nations? The importance of the point at issue can easily be perceived: either outdated procedures must be maintained, or else there must be a juridical revolution, enabling a private individual to appeal to an international body against any administrative measure, verdict, or law of his own country which, in his view, violates the Covenant on Human Rights.

A certain number of states have already signified their willingness to sign a separate protocol, granting the right of petition against themselves on a basis of reciprocity, and in accordance with a form of procedure that differs appreciably from the European Pact on Human Rights. But Uruguay has put forward another idea, which it suggests should be incorporated in the covenant itself—that the right of appeal to the Human Rights Committee, independently of any particular state, should be granted to a United Nations attorney general, representing the international community. Some people consider that a transitional measure such as this would enable progress to be made, and provide an escape from the dilemma.

4. Sacrifice of Sovereignty

The fourth question consists in deciding how the covenant is to be

applied within a federal state or union of states which includes federated states, provinces, and colonies enjoying a certain measure of legislative autonomy.

To grant these states the right to a special system, wherein the obligations would be less strict than in the case of affiliated states, would be a breach of the equality and reciprocity which are the cornerstones of international relations. To refuse to grant such a right, however, would bring about a very long delay in the ratification of the covenant by such states, and in its extension throughout the world. Hence the need for a fresh solution, which has not so far been found.

To what extent will "sovereign" states consent to waive their "sovereignty" in the interests of the world-wide advancement of human rights? Their present position rather resembles that of the fathers of families in ancient times, who had power of life and death over the other members of the tribe or the *domus*, and who lost the more menacing features of their paternal authority only gradually, through the influence of custom, as they were integrated into the social group of the city or state.

If human rights are gravely injured in any one part of the world, nothing can prevent the united race of mankind from feeling the smart. Implementation of those rights is,

therefore, simply a matter of time and of the determination of the different peoples, which must be upheld by the technical procedure of the law.

A Co-operative Effort

But there are many states that are not even in a position to implement, by their own unaided efforts, human rights so universally accepted nowadays, as the right of every child or adult to be taught to read and write and receive fundamental education. It is not by inveighing against these states that we can fill the gaps in their educational organization; it is by helping them without hurting their feelings or interfering with their independence—by means of international intellectual, technical, and financial co-operation. The Commission on Human Rights has understood this, and its covenant must take precedence over the negative spirit of stricture or censure.

The struggle for human rights has been going on for centuries. The setbacks that have only too often occurred were perhaps due to a lack of unity among the various social or national groups, and to insufficient pressure by public opinion. The future implementation of human rights will go hand in hand with the peaceful and resolute extension of co-operation between individuals and groups, within the vast framework of the international institutions.

Observe Brotherhood Week, February 17-24

WHAT MAKES PEOPLE PREJUDICED?

By ARNOLD ROSE, *Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota.*

PREJUDICE of one group of people against another group has existed in most parts of the world and at all periods of history. It has been a major source of unhappiness.

People have different theories as to what constitutes the psychological basis of prejudice. Some of the theories have been disproved by scientific studies by psychologists and sociologists, yet are still believed by many people.

One such idea is that prejudice arises instinctively against people who are different. This may be called the "dislike of differences" theory. Some people say they dislike Negroes because Negroes are so black and dirty, or because they are dangerous. Others say they do not dislike Negroes, but that you cannot treat a Negro as you can a white man, because a Negro is like a child or an animal and cannot act like a man.

There are several things wrong with the dislike of differences theory:

1. It does not explain the stereotyping that goes with prejudice. Many Negroes are no more dangerous or dirty than many white men. Most Negroes are not even black, and a few are so light-skinned that they can pass as whites. Even if the prejudiced person maintains that

most Negroes have these undesirable traits, he will admit that there are exceptions. Yet he is prejudiced against the exceptions too.

2. There are a lot of differences against which there is no prejudice. And there are many places in the world where people of different races and religions live together without prejudice. Red hair is just as striking a characteristic as dark skin, and yet few people have prejudice against people with red hair.

3. The dislike of differences theory does not explain the fact that prejudiced people make contradictory statements about those against whom they are prejudiced. Prejudiced people say they dislike Jews because the latter are "always trying to push themselves into places where they are not wanted," and also because "Jews are clannish and keep to themselves." Prejudiced people observe that "Negroes have no ambition," and yet they are the first to strike down a Negro who tries to secure education or a better job.

ANOTHER largely fallacious theory of prejudice is that it is caused by unpleasant experiences with members of minority groups. It is true that a bad experience with a person

can make one dislike that person ever afterward. But why should the dislike be turned to all people with the same color of skin or the same accent? If a fat person does harm to someone, one does not forever thereafter hate all fat people. If one has a quarrel with a member of the Baptist Church, one does not feel the need to fight all Baptists.

One of the most important steps in understanding prejudice was taken when the psychologists developed the "frustration-aggression" theory. In simpler language this is called the "scapegoat" theory. Studies of human behavior have shown that some people are steadily prevented from doing the things they want to do and are consequently not happy. This is called "frustration." Then they are likely to strike at something or try to make someone else unhappy. That is, they become "aggressive." When, as often happens, a person cannot hit back at the thing that makes him unhappy, he finds a substitute.

EVERYONE uses a scapegoat. Little harm is done if the scapegoat is not a living creature, but sometimes a man will beat a dog or a child, not so much because of what the dog or child did as because the man is angry about something else. One who is reprimanded by his employer will sometimes come home and pick a fight with his wife. He cannot talk back to his employer, so he vents his anger upon his wife. The dog, the

child, and the wife are scapegoats, and they suffer because they are scapegoats.

Occasionally a whole group of people, perhaps a whole country, feels frustrated by bad economic conditions, unemployment, low pay, as many Americans in the Southern states have been for a long time. Or they may feel frustrated by failure to become the leading nation of the world, as the Germans were after losing the First World War. Nothing they do seems to bring prosperity or glory to their land, and so they take it out on a scapegoat.

One thing that helped Hitler to power in Germany was his ability to persuade the German people that the Jews were the cause of all their troubles. In South Africa politicians are sometimes elected to office after a campaign devoted merely to raising white people's fears about Negroes.

TO EXPLAIN why certain minority groups are chosen as scapegoats psychologists help us out with another theory—the "symbolic" theory. This theory is based on the important fact that one thing can stand for something else in the unconscious mind. People often find themselves liking something—certain foods or places, for example—without knowing why. If such feelings could be traced back to their origin, it would be found that these foods or places "remind" people of

some pleasant experience in their past.

There can also be substitutes, or "symbols" as the psychologists call them, for things disliked. Probably everyone has had the experience of disliking something at first sight, without any reason for doing so.

Now, the question is, Why are certain minority groups disliked by so many people? Obviously, they must be symbolically connected with things that are very important to many people. A list of important things might include money, a belief in being kind and just to others, family life and sexual satisfaction, good health, and so on. Toward all these things most people have mixed attitudes: we like them, but we also may wish to rebel against them. But we cannot properly say that we dislike them. So the dislike becomes unconscious, and can be expressed only through a substitute.

Minority groups become substitutes for important things in the culture with which they have deep psychological and historical connections. We cannot publicly admit dislike, or fear, or the wish to revolt against these things. So we apply these attitudes to their substitutes.

Let us take an example of how this would work out. All of us have had the experience of disliking a thing that is good for us. Most of us have kicked up our heels at our parents, at our church, at practices that are said to be healthful, and so on. But

some people will not admit that they would like to rebel. They pretend that they adore their parents at all times, that they always have "pure" feelings about sex. Since this is not really the case, they have to give vent to their rebel feelings in some other way. And they do so by having prejudices against minority groups.

IT IS not only a matter of disliking the objects of prejudice; it is also a matter of fear. When people hate something strongly, they are usually also afraid of it. It is, of course, sensible to hate and fear certain things, but when the danger is imaginary there is something wrong with the person who hates and fears. Most of the fears connected with prejudice are imaginary, even though they seem real enough to those who have them.

1. Take, for example, the fear of large numbers. Many people who are prejudiced against Negroes, or any other minority group, say that there are so many Negroes. They are afraid they are going to be "overwhelmed" or "dominated" by Negroes. If these people are asked, "What percentage of the people in this town are Negroes?" they usually give a falsely high number. The real facts are available to them if they wish to know them. But prejudiced people seem to wish to hold onto fears.

2. Another fear is that minority groups have too much power. Prej-

(Continued on page 18)

An Appeal

January 1, 1952

Dear Friends and Brethren:

This letter will be my last opportunity to speak through this page to you who have deemed it worth-while to follow the comment of "An Appeal to Faith." In addition to this expression of appreciation to you, there are two concerns that I should like to share with you:

First, the issue of conscription is still to the fore and promises to reach its climax within the month. The Defense Department, in good faith but, we believe, with poor judgment, continues its attack on America's 150-year-old practice and faith concerning conscription. During these years, we have been given no relief from the attacks of propaganda, which have included false reports of Russian submarines in our waters and threatening movements of Russian troops in the West. Alarms have been sounded and strategically related to each new drive for peacetime conscription. The present campaign includes trips to Washington and Defense Department briefing for strategically placed churchmen and editors of church periodicals. There is, however, still hope that the plan of universal military training submitted by the National Security Training Commission will be defeated. Space does not permit us to reveal adequately the falsity of its presuppositions and the threat to a free society and Christian faith and practice it would bring in the name of security. Provision is made for the thorough search of the pros and cons of this and other great issues of national policy and Christian faith in *God and the Nations* and in the companion book for individual and group study, *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*.

The second concern is that our Church's program to involve Christians in study and action is not sufficiently supported or boldly enough developed according to the measure of our faith. Social education has won its basic place in the regular channels of the curriculum of the church school, but the continuing need for immediate informed action on an individual and group

Please note: The Division of Social Education and Action has prepared a packet of resource materials dealing with the critical issue of universal military training. Among other items, it contains the pronouncements against UMT by the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1946-1951. Order your packet now from the Division, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., 25 cents each.

to Faith

basis in critical areas of responsibility has not been satisfied. Several factors account for this condition, including the unwillingness to think on hard questions—belief that the complexity of the problems places them beyond one's competence, or that informed Christian action in a disputed field would upset comfortable habits and prejudices. But the overriding influence is that we are just too busy: Life is crowded with good and important ministries. Church programs are full; denominational and interdenominational schedules are jammed. So much so that we lack opportunity to see clearly the present crisis or take critical action to meet the present national spiritual emergency. However, unless essential time, energy, and finances are provided to make a major attack on the imperative issue of war and peace, all our other problems will be dissolved in a third world war. True, long-term planning is essential in the program of the Church, but time and resources must be reserved for the emergencies life brings. Even on the busiest avenues of traffic, parking is prohibited at fire hydrants. The greatest ships must reserve costly space for lifeboats. Today adjustments must be made in schedules and programs if the Church meets its urgent responsibility. Every Christian must be prepared to discharge his awful responsibility to declare the truth for which his son or his neighbor's son shall live and die.

I am deeply thankful for the privilege of serving these five years as your Secretary of Social Education and Action. You have been searching in your criticism and generous in your judgment. I covet for every churchman an experience such as mine has been through these years. The change of position from the Board to the pastorate does not involve an essential change of ministry. In addition to the inviting opportunities of the local pastorate in Salem, Oregon, I anticipate a continuing service, with a fair share of conferences and training institutes. Participation in these events will be determined in consultation with the session and in consideration of our new responsibilities. The continuing members of the SEA executive staff, Clifford Earle and Margaret Kuhn, are already richly commended to you by their works and association with you in the field. Most of you know what dedicated and competent associates and leaders in this great work we have in them. Today when you pray, remember them—and tomorrow.

With every blessing,

—Paul Newton Poling

What Makes People Prejudiced?

(Continued from page 15)

udiced people say that Jews own the big banks and run the Government. Even a little investigation will indicate that this is not so. As a matter of fact, in some countries Jews are kept out of the banking business and out of many Government posts because of prejudice.

3. There is the fear that members of the minority may be spying for foreign Governments. For years before the Second World War many Americans were afraid of Japanese spies. There were many rumors of various kinds of secret work for the Japanese Government. But when it was all investigated, not a single Japanese-American was discovered to have been helping the enemy. The Japanese Government knew about Americans' prejudice and hired only white Americans as spies.

A NUMBER of students have sought to explain prejudice as a type of mental disease. Some mental disorders can be traced to inadequacies in personality development, and prejudice is regarded under this theory as resulting from a particular kind of misdevelopment.

One study, by Frenkel-Brunswik, Sanford, and others at the University of California, is based on a detailed comparison between the personality traits of known anti-Semites and the personality traits of known

non-anti-Semites. By comparison, the typical anti-Semite was found to be a compulsive conformist, exhibiting anxiety at the appearance of any social deviation. He appears to be a person with little insight into himself, who projects his own undesired traits into other people, so that he blames people against whom he is prejudiced for traits that are characteristic of himself. He tends to have unconscious inferiority feelings centering mainly in a feeling of sexual inadequacy. He expresses strong filial and religious devotion, but unconsciously hates his parents and is indifferent to moral values.

Another study was conducted by Professor Hartley of the attitudes of students at several colleges. His summary of the characteristics of the intolerant personality follows: "Unwillingness to accept responsibility; acceptance of conventional mores; a rejection of serious groups; rejection of political interests; a desire for groups formed for purely social purposes and absorption with pleasure activities; a conscious conflict between play and work; emotionality rather than rationality; extreme egotism; compulsive interest in physical activity; the body and health. He was likely to dislike agitators, radicals, and pessimists. He was relatively uncreative, apparently unable to deal with anxieties except by fleeing from them."

Prejudice is indeed a complex thing. Perhaps we can best summa-

rise our findings by suggesting what kinds of action will contribute toward a reduction of prejudice.

1. Prejudiced people need to have an intellectual appreciation of the fact that prejudice harms them, financially and psychologically. The gains that seem to come from prejudice are to some extent temporary and illusory.

2. We should provide accurate information about the minority groups against which there is prejudice. This should include facts that break stereotypes, and explanations of the causes that give rise to differences between minority and dominant groups. Facts of this type are learned not only through books, newspapers, and speeches, but through personal contact on a friendly and equal basis.

3. One of the most important traditions to combat is that of racism. This can be attacked not only when it is applied to minority groups, but also whenever biological explanations are applied to any social phenomenon.

4. Legislation that penalizes discrimination reduces the occasions on which prejudice is made to seem proper and respectable, as well as eliminates some of the worst effects of prejudice. Legislation against discrimination is thus one of the most important means of breaking traditions of prejudice.

5. A tradition on which prejudice is based can be maintained only by being transmitted to children. If the

transmission of prejudice through the home and play group can be counteracted by the school and church while the child's mind is still flexible, prejudice cannot long survive. Also, if the public can be led to consider that manifestations of prejudice are shameful, many parents will refrain from displaying their prejudice in front of their children.

6. Direct efforts to solve major social problems will not only divert people from prejudice but will remove some of the frustrations that create a psychological tendency toward prejudice. The most important single step of this type is the provision of economic security.

7. Demonstration that many of the fears about minority groups are imaginary might help to dispel those fears. A general program of mental hygiene needs to be developed to get people to be honest with themselves.

8. Any effort to develop healthier and saner personalities will diminish prejudice. Such efforts usually require the guidance of psychiatrists.

A concerted program that included all these activities would, in a generation or two, greatly reduce prejudice. The future is hopeful if even a small group of people in each country is organized to eradicate this serious blight on all civilization.

—*From The Roots of Prejudice, published by UNESCO Paris. Used by permission of the publisher.*

CICERO'S TIME BOMB

By CHARLES ABRAMS, lawyer, and instructor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Pennsylvania.

THE race riot last July in Cicero, Illinois, received more notice in Chicago than usual. For two days the news had been played down, and, in fact, most Chicagoans saw the riot on television before they read it in their newspapers. But when the governor called out the National Guard, the news broke all over the country.

The rioting started when Mrs. DeRose, who owned a \$100,000 apartment house, got into a controversy with her tenants and was ordered to refund a portion of the rent. Shortly after, it became known that she had rented an apartment to Harvey E. Clark, a Negro war veteran and a graduate of Fisk University.

When it was learned that a Negro was moving into the apartment house, a high Cicero official arrived to warn Mrs. DeRose that there would be trouble if Clark moved in.

Two policemen then came to tell Mrs. DeRose that she could not "get away with it." At 2:30 P.M., on June 8, a moving van containing \$2,000 worth of Clark's furniture drove up to the house and was halted by the police. The rental agent was ushered out with a revolver at his back.

Word was then passed along that there would be "fun" at the apartment house. Crowds gathered, tensions rose, and a rock smashed the window of Clark's apartment.

On Wednesday, July 11, some of the white families in the apartment house, warned of impending trouble, stored their furniture, and moved out. By dusk, a crowd of 4,000 cut the ropes put up by the police. Only sixty policemen were assigned to the scene, and stepped out of the way when the crowd moved forward. Flares, bricks, and burning torches

Shortly after last July's explosive Cicero riots the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, with the assistance of the New York State Committee, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission sent Charles Abrams and Ruth Brill to Chicago and Cicero to investigate the disturbance and its national implications and confer with civic leaders and public officials in Cook County and Illinois. Findings were prepared that formed the basis of recommendations to the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency and Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. Excerpts from Mr. Abrams' report are reprinted here by permission of the editors of Commentary and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

were thrown into the house, radiators and walls were ripped out, furniture was thrown from the windows, and trees were torn up by the roots to be burned as the mob cheered. The mayor and chief of police were "out of town."

After \$20,000 in damage had been done to the building, the county sheriff requested the governor to send in the state militia. The militia finally pushed back the mob at bayonet point, while four militiamen were felled, and only their superb discipline kept the riot from turning into a massacre.

The Cicero riot is only the most recent of a series in Cook County. From July, 1949, to August, 1951, there were three such riots in Chicago, and there have been six altogether since 1945. In addition, since 1949 there have been more than a hundred lesser "incidents": bombings, fires, or organized assaults against Negro families, one of these by a hit-and-run incendiary who started a fire that cost ten lives. Another incident was the bombing of the home of Dr. Percy Julian, co-discoverer of cortisone. One riot required 1,500 policemen to quell it.

The immediate cause of the flare-ups differs in each case, but the underlying cause is always the same: Negroes try to move out of their overcrowded slum areas and are met with violence, or the presence of an occasional Negro is interpreted as signaling an influx. Groups are

permitted to gather around the target; they draw larger groups, including the subnormal, the prejudiced, the emotionally immature, and youth seeking "fun." Rumors begin to fly, emotion rises, order breaks down, and normally lawabiding citizens become part of the mob action. Frustrated by not being able to get at the target, the mob looks for a scapegoat upon which to vent its aggressions—Negroes, Jews, Communists, strangers, intellectuals. In all the outbreaks but one, police showed no willingness to protect the Negroes in their rights, and in some their forces were even deployed to let the victims take their beatings. The pattern is now a commonplace in Chicago, but the potential for miniature race wars exists in other parts of urban America.

THE migration of Negroes—and of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans—into the large American cities is due to the increasing need in our expanding economy for more unskilled and semiskilled labor than presently exists in the urban labor pool. Opposition by "natives" to "newcomers" is nothing new in the American scene. The same Bohemian, Czech, and Polish groups that now resent Negroes' moving into Cicero once sent earlier-established Americans into paroxysms of fear. Ultimately some pattern of equilibrium, or of "coexistence" between earlier and later comers, was established.

In most of our industrial cities today, the Negroes constitute the latest "wave of immigration." But they are at a special disadvantage. They have come in large numbers, taxing the absorptive capacities of the cities they entered. Though industry needed them and hired them, it was never interested in their housing problems. Nor was Government concerned except through a small public-housing program.

Yet while all these factors might have made the adjustment more difficult, they need not have brought increasing violence. In fact, while tensions were increasing in housing, gains were being made in other areas through passage of fair employment practices laws, the abolition of segregation in the armed forces, the entry of Negroes into Southern universities—all without leading to violence. The difference, however, may be accounted for by the fact that there were influential agencies (the Supreme Court, a few local officials, the military hierarchy) that provided the moral leadership for these advances in equality, while the influential agencies in housing temporized with, or supported, segregation and discrimination.

THERE was, of course, no conscious "plot." But the real-estate and home-building group played an important role in supplying the intellectual justification for housing prejudice; they are a powerful lobby

locally and in Washington, and, since the expansion of Federal housing programs, were able to get at least one important housing agency to incorporate their ideas in its policy.

In the influential texts on real estate and housing written since the 1920's, one can find such items as:

1. A listing of the order of racial "desirability," with the English, Germans, Scots, Irish, and Scandinavians at the top; Jews, south Italians, Negroes, and Mexicans at the bottom.

2. A statement by a former chief economist for the Federal Housing Administration to the effect that "a family should never live in a neighborhood with those in a higher or lower income scale than its own."

3. A warning to homeowners, written by the "dean" of American appraisers, against "any deviation from the typical" in selecting tenants by race, color, nationality, income level, or social position.

4. A declaration that "the colored people certainly have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but they must recognize the economic disturbance which their presence in a white neighborhood causes and forego their desire to split off from the established districts where the rest of their race lives. . . . Segregation of the Negro population seems to be the reasonable solution of the problem, no matter how unpleasant or objectionable the thought may be to colored residents."

Worse still, Federal Government agencies have lent official sanction to bigotry in housing. When the official underwriters' manual of the Federal Housing Administration, the dominant influence in the house-building market since the mid-thirties, came to be written in 1935, prevalent real-estate standards were made part of official Government policy. This Federal agency not only warned against mixing "inharmonious races or classes" but advocated racial restrictions, physical barriers, and racial covenants to keep the "undesirables" out, insisting on "homogeneity" before it would insure mortgages. FHA thus operated to perpetuate the vicious circle that had been started in the 1920's.

The most fruitful approach to a solution of this problem today would be through new building that would serve as an escape valve for the population pressure of the segregated minorities. But neither Cook County, Illinois, which has enough lots to accommodate 4,000,000 families, nor Chicago, with enough lots to house 500,000 families, find themselves capable of building new homes for a fraction of the 100,000 Negro families that need them. The only hope for creating new unsegregated housing is a large-scale public housing program or a different FHA policy—but public housing has been held down to a trickle by claims that it means "Negro infiltration," and today almost all FHA developers build

"for whites only." The city officials have obstinately refused to build on empty lots—this would let Negroes into white areas. And the net effect of "slum clearance" in the Chicago area is to reduce the number of housing units available to Negroes.

IN THE last few years, some progress has been made in breaking down segregation in a few cities. But neither the Supreme Court's ruling against the enforceability of restrictive covenants, nor FHA's decision two years ago to modify its manual, has been able to undo the damage already done. A whole generation has been reared on the propaganda of "homogeneity," and "all-white, non-alien" neighborhoods exist from coast to coast.

As things now stand, the effect of Negroes' moving into new areas is that homeowners—educated by the real-estate profession to believe that their houses will collapse in value if a single Negro moves nearby—offer their houses in panic and actually do bring down selling prices. Homeowners in other areas, seeing the decline of values through panic sales, form "neighborhood improvement" associations to keep out "intruders."

An educated public opinion at the start might have halted the tide of prejudice and violence. But both in Chicago and in Detroit, civic groups after the great riot of 1919 asked the newspapers to play down "racial news." They felt that sensational re-

porting by some of the papers might spread whatever violence occurred. Today it is argued that making a fuss about such incidents plays into the hands of Russian propaganda, which, indeed, it does.

Meanwhile a vested political interest is built up in race prejudice; anti-Negro and anti-Semitic rabble rousers flock in to supply an ideology; and unscrupulous politicians attempt to ride into power by appealing to race hatred. And while respectable newspapers are silent out of a feeling of responsibility, another section of the press has fanned anti-racial feeling with complete freedom. Thus in Chicago on June 9, 1947, the *Calumet Index*, an influential suburban newspaper, in an editorial headed "Protect Your Homes," wrote, "Every white neighborhood in the city and state will find itself defenseless against the wanton destruction of property value by a Negro minority intent upon forcing itself upon white neighbors."

In Detroit, a string of suburban newspapers owned by Floyd McGriff champions the anti-Negro "civic associations," and keeps public temper at a high pitch by inveighing against "Reds," "Negroes," and "socialist housing." In Miami, the responsible *Miami Daily News* accepted a half-page ad announcing an "Indignation Meeting" to formulate plans for a "mammoth motorcade" to prevent "the infiltration of the colored race" into a private housing project abut-

ting a Negro area. A dynamiting shortly thereafter caused \$200,000 in damage.

IN SUM, Cicero is no isolated incident. chargeable to local conditions or to some single criminal segment of the population; it is only the most prominent symptom of a major disease in the American scene. The jury that indicted the landlady, her lawyer, her agent, and the NAACP lawyer was not corrupt. Nor were the rioters all vandals or gangsters. They had the sanction of their elders, of the community, of the police, and of parts of the press. The police who tried to prevent the Negro family from moving in undoubtedly believed they were acting in the interests of their community. When the mayor and chief of police "couldn't be found," it was because they knew that if they stopped the riot they would lose any chances of re-election. The sheriff of Cook County was politically embarrassed when he tried to enforce the law.

What is called for is a full-scale drive to change both the conditions of segregation and the attitudes of prejudice that breed under these conditions and help sustain them.

The first thing is to keep the Cicero pattern from spreading to other areas, and this requires review and action at the highest Washington level. If we are to meet our housing needs in the next twenty years, we shall have to build housing equal to

half our existing supply. Most of this will be built with the help of Federal agencies.

Furthermore, there must be a direct moral and educational attack at various levels on the social attitudes that support the "all-white" Ciceros throughout the country. For it is not only the residents of these communities themselves and their leaders who are at fault. The members of Chicago's Union League club, who refused to admit Dr. Percy Julian to a luncheon of scientists, must share the blame. So must the industrialists who recruit workers from minority groups but take no responsibility for seeing that they are housed. So too must the private builders who attach the free and pernicious label of "exclusive" as a means of selling their houses.

Further, "slum clearance" must be stopped until there is an adequate supply of houses available for the displaced families. Simultaneously, a comprehensive program must be launched in which housing will be supplied on the basis of need, not race or color.

Lastly, the creation of new non-segregated communities is itself an essential step in changing the attitudes that supply the fuel for race riots. In New York City, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Seattle, and Portland (Oregon) housing projects involving more than a billion dollars in investments have integrated Negroes and whites successfully. Numerous

studies show that properties do not decline simply because Negroes or other minority groups move into an area.

In short, the race problem in housing will not be resolved by pious preaching of civil rights by Government or community leaders while the very environments that frustrate these rights are being created under their noses. Unless the issue is met by a full-scale program of building, by public education, and by the support of top-level officials, prejudice and political power will continue to move hand in hand to reinforce the pattern of racial lawlessness that is now a spreading blight upon the American scene.

Editor's Note:

The special Federal grand jury called to investigate the Cicero riot concluded its work on the case with a two-count indictment of the president of the town, three other officials, and three policemen. The first count charged that the four Cicero officials had conspired with thirty-six Cicero policemen to prevent Negroes from moving into Cicero. The second count charged the seven with the violation of civil rights statutes in preventing Harvey Clark, Jr., from moving into the apartment house building. Convictions on each count carry a maximum penalty of a thousand dollars fine and a year in jail.

The indictment charges of September 18 preferred by the Cook County grand jury against the apartment house owner, the attorney for the NAACP, and a Negro real-estate agent were dropped largely because of the pressure of public opinion and the press against such fundamental violations of civil liberties in the United States.

Sanctuary

THIS NATION UNDER GOD

Call to Worship:

"God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. . . .
Truly God is good to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart. . . .
Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations. . . .
Even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God."

Invocation:

Almighty One, who strives to break through the business of men and to give to each a portion of thy mercy, sanctify these moments that they may be for us an asylum from personal ambitions and a covert from public duties that we may receive a fresh vision of thy majesty and will. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Scripture Lesson: Isaiah 1: 10-18.

A Litany: Our Country

O God the Father, who governest the nations upon earth:

Be merciful unto us.

Remember not, O Lord, the offenses of Thy people, our transgressions and sins; deal not with us after our sins, neither reward us according to our wickedness:

Spare us, Father of mercies.

From blindness of heart, from love of ease, from contentment with the second best, from failure to do the good that was in the heart of our fathers:

Save Thy people, Lord.

From presumptuous sins, from pride of possession, from vainglorious boastings, from national hypocrisies:

Save Thy people, Lord.

From the covetousness which is idolatry, from hard bargaining and ruthless competition, and from all the service of mammon and the worship of wealth:

Save Thy people, Lord.

From class warfare and class hatred, from racial antagonisms, from the spirit of party, from the seeking of sectional advantage and forgetfulness of the general good:

Save Thy people, Lord.

From failure to take account of the needs of other nations, from living unto ourselves alone, and from putting our trust in our own strength:

Save Thy people, Lord.

That we may hallow Thy name, that we may seek first Thy kingdom and Thy righteousness; and that, as Thou givest us to know Thy will, so we may do it:

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.

That we may be mindful of the poor and the oppressed among us; that we may bring up the children of the nation in Thy faith and fear; that we may welcome those who

in good faith have come from other lands to seek our fellowship, and receive them in Thy name:

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.

That we make choice of just legislators and faithful counselors, who with a godly spirit may enact always things just, and things wise, and things merciful:

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.

That we may co-operate earnestly and effectively with other nations, for the abolition of war and the establishment of international law, and for whatever else may pertain to the general good:

We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.

—From The Book of Common Worship, 1946 (*Abridged*).

Meditation:

There is only one task before Christian men and nations today; it is that they give the last full measure of devotion unto Christ. For if, for any reason, "that subduing talisman, the cross, should break, then the old gods will rise from the long-forgotten ruins and rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes, and Thor, leaping to life with his giant hammer, will crush the Gothic cathedrals" (Heinrich Heine). But much more than the cathedrals will be crushed; all of civilized man's hard-won social values of concern for the underdog, of honor for women as the peers of their men, of each infant's right to rise to the fullest measure of his capacities, and of impartial law which knows not either the condition of man's birth or the size of his earthly power, will be crushed also. Christ alone, with his consuming passion for all men's reconciliation with God first, and with each other secondly, has tilled the cultural soil in which these fair seeds of justice can bud and blossom.

Modern man's occupation with fair wages, old-age security, civil rights, and public health and education is appropriate and praiseworthy, even as is his insistent demand that a creative alternative to war be achieved, but without a prior occupation for his own and his neighbor's knowledge of the true God who forgives sin and grants the power of new starts, he is destined for despair and moral paralysis. God alone can blot out the remembrance of past iniquities and grant grace whereby we may look with fearless eye to the future, and do our best to free the world of the burden of either our own or of our forebears' sins.

That God is ready and willing to do this, the Old Testament affirms from Joseph's dealing with his murderous brothers to Malachi's prophecy of unbounded plenty. But far, far better than these, Christ affirms it: "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." The Sovereign Judge, against whom all sin is perpetrated ultimately, has freed us from the consequences of our guilt, that we may be at liberty to pursue his righteous will. Which will is that we "seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

Prayer:

Almighty God, the Father of all men, grant us grace to perceive what matchless benefits thou hast prepared for us in thine only-begotten Son, that with true repentance and unflinching trust we may serve our brothers at home and abroad by witnessing a good confession unto that same Son, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—Prepared by Robert Pierre Johnson, Field Representative, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

INTERRACIAL RELATIONS IN REVIEW*

Following are reports of trends and tendencies in racial and cultural relations in America for the year 1951.

Educational Discrimination

While the Southern system of segregated education of Negroes and whites is breaking down at an accelerating pace on the university level under the impact of the Supreme Court decisions, it gives every appearance of becoming more entrenched at the elementary and high school levels.

Hundreds of Negro students attended university classes with whites last year. This fall the Negro enrollment probably was larger and additional institutions let down the barriers. However, resistance remained obdurate in some quarters. In Georgia, an appropriation bill was passed in the 1951 session of the legislature providing for the improvement of segregated Negro public schools, and also providing that if Negroes were admitted to a white school, the school would lose all state funds, and that if any court were to abolish segregation in Georgia, all common school funds for the entire state would be cut off. The latter proviso applies also to state-supported institutions of higher learning in Georgia.

Governor Byrnes of South Carolina and Governor Wright of Mississippi were equally insistent upon maintaining segregation barriers. In other Southern states, the Supreme Court rulings were applied reluctantly. Qualified Negro applicants to the University of Virginia Law School had to secure a court order for their admission; in Delaware, Negroes had to demonstrate in a court proceeding that facilities

at Dover State College for Negroes were "grossly inferior" to those of the University of Delaware before they could gain admittance. There were court cases, as well, in Maryland, Tennessee, and North Carolina—which resulted, in effect, in affirmation by the lower courts of what the Supreme Court already had stated.

The NAACP, primary instrumentality in pressing for equal educational facilities in previous years, turned its strategy toward seeking a Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of segregation per se. Lower Federal courts in South Carolina and in Kansas have upheld segregation in public schools—provided the facilities actually are equal.

Meanwhile, fair educational practices legislation was extended elsewhere. New York State's law was extended in March, 1951, to cover business and trade schools. Oregon, in April, made it illegal for "vocational, professional, and trade schools" to discriminate against any person because of his race, color, religion, or national origin. Fair educational practices laws failed of enactment in California and Connecticut.

There was a continued movement among fraternities to lower racial and religious barriers to membership. Several campus chapters surrendered their charters, either voluntarily or under threat of punitive action by university authorities. Some national charters were amended. The liberalizing movement was sparked by undergraduates, with alumni tending to defend existing exclusionist criteria.

Discrimination in Armed Forces

Equality of treatment of all races in the armed forces, as ordered by President

*Based on material from *NAIRO Reporter*, November, 1951.

Truman in July, 1948, has not yet been achieved, but some strides toward racial integration have been taken recently by the various services.

The Air Force has made the greatest advances. In March, 1951, the *Air Force Times* disclosed that 95 per cent of all Negroes in the Air Force were assigned to mixed units. Airmen in general are assigned in accordance with their ability without regard to their race or religion. However, Negroes comprise only 0.6 per cent of the officers and 5.6 per cent of the enlisted men. It would appear that the small number of Negro personnel is due to some flaw in the recruitment process.

In the Navy and Marine Corps, as a Navy man said last March, "We have no segregation, but we haven't hit the millennium yet." While Negroes are integrated, the Navy has only nineteen Negro officers and about 3 per cent Negro enlisted personnel, more than 50 per cent of whom are still in the steward's branch.

Of all the service branches, the Army has the highest percentage of Negro personnel (11.7 per cent of Army enlisted personnel and 2.1 per cent of the officer complement are Negroes). Some Negro soldiers are in completely integrated units, others in completely segregated units. In March, the Army announced that its training centers were racially integrated, although "racial integrity" has been maintained "in some" combat units.

Last spring another aspect of Army discrimination was disclosed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel. After an on-the-scene investigation, Mr. Marshall reported that Negro soldiers were discriminated against in court-martial proceedings in Korea. Since the disclosures the general situation has bettered.

General MacArthur at the time disclaimed responsibility for the segregation of Negro troops in Korea, declaring that he used troops as the War Department supplied them. However, after he was relieved the Army reported that experience had shown that Negro soldiers in combat

"serve more effectively in integrated units." It was then announced that all segregation in the entire Far East Command would be eliminated within six months.

Two Congressional items merit mention. In April, a provision to grant all draftees the right to request service in a unit composed only of members of their own race was defeated, after the Senate in March had turned down a proposal to amend the military training bill to make it a Federal offense to commit an act of assault or mob violence against a uniformed member of the Armed Forces.

Public Accommodations and Transportation

Although at least twenty-four states have statutes prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation and discriminatory advertising by such places, the laws are as often breached as observed, and authorities are reluctant to prosecute violators because public sentiment is widely regarded as being on their side rather than on the side of the law.

Segregation of races in places of public accommodation is still the established pattern in the South, but some progress may be reported, particularly in the border states. Maryland repealed a law enacted in 1904, which required segregation of races by railroad and steamboat companies. The Baltimore Park Board, on October 6, 1951, designated twenty-four athletic facilities for interracial use and ended segregation on the city's four golf courses. In a widely publicized decision, the Municipal Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held valid and enforceable the long-dormant Civil Rights Act passed in 1873 by the Legislative Assembly for the District of Columbia which made it a violation of law to refuse to serve "any well-behaved and respectable person" in restaurants, eating houses, and similar establishments. The doctrine, established in 1946 by the United States Supreme Court, that racial segregation in interstate transportation violates the

United States Constitution was extended by Federal courts.

The only important setback in the drive for equality in public accommodations was not due to actions by legislatures or court decision but to a referendum. The city council of Portland, Oregon, early in 1950 had overwhelmingly adopted a city ordinance guaranteeing equality of access to places of public accommodation without discrimination. Thereafter, opponents of the measure—consisting largely of tavern keepers and a few restaurant and hotel owners—formed a group to prevent the ordinance from taking effect. They succeeded in obtaining twice the number of signatures necessary for a petition requiring the city council to suspend the operation of the ordinance pending a city-wide referendum. At the November, 1950, elections, the ordinance was defeated by a margin of 76,000 to 61,000 after a campaign in which every possible appeal to latent prejudice was resorted to by opponents of the ordinance. This experience underscores the importance of securing public support as a condition of acceptance and enforcement of civil rights measures.

The United Nations

The program to promote respect for human rights, a keystone of the UN, was initiated in 1947 when the Commission on Human Rights projected the adoption by the UN of an International Bill of Rights. On December 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—a broad statement of principles to which the signatory nations morally obligate themselves—was adopted. A legally binding Covenant on Human Rights and a scheme for implementation of this Covenant are now in the drafting stages. Although many differences of viewpoint have been reconciled, major issues remain as obstacles to completion of the Covenant:

1. Whether the Covenant should be limited to articles dealing mainly with the

traditional civil and political rights, or whether it should also include economic, social, and cultural rights, as in the Declaration of Human Rights.

2. Whether the right of complaint or petition for violations of the Covenant should be accorded to individuals or private organizations, or be limited to states.

We must not forget that we are here concerned with an enterprise intended to set up standards of international behavior for generations to come. It is infinitely more important to build solidly than to move swiftly.

The Genocide Convention, which came into force on January 12, 1951, after twenty nations had submitted their ratification, for the first time in history makes an international crime of genocide—defined as the destruction of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups.

To date, only France, of the major powers, has become a party to this Convention. Despite the leading role played by American representatives in the UN in developing the Convention, the Convention still rests in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Southern members of Congress and certain elements of the press and legal profession are stubbornly opposed to the Convention on the ground that it would take many matters of civil rights out of state control through Federal treaty power.

Many groups in the country concerned with furthering the goals of international protection of human rights are becoming fearful that unless Congress acts favorably on the Genocide Convention, there is little likelihood that it will ever consider seriously the more far-reaching Covenant.

In regard to UNESCO, the specific projects it has undertaken are too numerous even to list. Of interest to community relations agencies are the researches into the problem of discrimination and minorities which UNESCO has undertaken. Its activities in this field are grouped under three headings: (a) propagation of scientific data concerning the racial question and,

in particular, of the "Statement on Race" prepared by a committee of experts in 1949; (b) investigations undertaken with a view to making positive contributions to the solution of problems connected with discrimination against ethnic and cultural groups; and (c) studies of problems relating to the cultural assimilation of immigrants.

Under (a) is included the publication in many languages of an impressive series of pamphlets under the general heading of "The Race Question in Modern Science." In the field of education, UNESCO has been conducting activities designed to develop suggestions on ways of introducing the Declaration of Human Rights into school curriculums, including organizing seminars for teachers and publishing a volume that will be a kind of anthology of the most important documents in the history of the struggle for human rights.

Human Relations in the Mass Media

One of the most striking developments in recent years in the whole field of communication—including literature, the theater, motion picture, radio, and television—

has been a lifting of the taboo on open discussion of prejudice and discrimination.

Since reaction to *Gentleman's Agreement* proved that such subjects can be made into best sellers, there has been a growing volume of fiction based on or dealing in subplots with many aspects of discriminatory treatment of minorities in our country and with the human drama that it produces. Popular magazines, like the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Life*, and *Collier's*, have carried articles as well as stories on such intergroup relations themes. And, as any televisioner or radio listener can testify, the loud-speakers and the video screens almost every day carry the message of tolerance, understanding, and amity among men of all races and creeds.

Despite some controversies—as in the case of *Oliver Twist* and the "Amos and Andy" program—the role of the entertainment media in the realm of human relationships must be regarded as an increasingly positive one. Most heartening is the evidence of a trend toward more and more honest and fearless facing up to the issues in human relations by writers and producers in literary and entertainment media.

We Tried It and It Worked

No Fraternal Delegates—When the Westminster Fellowship Youth Synod met, along with synod and synodical at Maryville College, June 26-29, 1951, delegates included Negro young people from the neighboring segregated synods. There were no fraternal delegates, for no one wanted fellowship on that basis. The joint planning meetings preceding synod included Negro youth leaders and stressed shared responsibilities. The planning groups had also voluntarily given up the idea of swimming or folk dancing, realizing that these two activities might give the adults at synod and synodical concern.

The publicity stated in advance the ex-

act nature of the meeting. The attendance was by far the largest ever recorded for Mid-South Youth Synod meetings.

In addition to the regular session, the entire youth group met as a youth choir with two regular practice periods each day under the leadership of John Connet of Warren Wilson College. At the Thursday evening popular meeting which brought together synod and synodical delegates, the youth choir sang and the young people were responsible for the program.

When Westminster Fellowship delegates asked synod for permission to meet jointly next year and to be free to accept invitations for other joint gatherings, a layman

from Georgia made this further recommendation: "I move that we commend the young people for this meeting and for showing the synod the way." The acceptance of these recommendations was unanimous! There was not a single unpleasant incident in any of the synod meetings. Although the weather was very hot the young people held to their "no swimming" agreement without murmur.

—*From the June, 1951, report of Elizabeth McCort, Field Representative, Synod of Mid-South.*

"All One Body We"—The young people's conferences of Lincoln Ridge for colored young people will be the last of such conferences. This year both our older youth conference at Danville and our high school age conference will be interracial. Centre College has already agreed upon a date for the interracial conference. Thus the separate colored conferences will be a thing of the past after June this year.

—*Excerpts from the 1951 report of Dr. George S. Watson, Field Representative, Synod of Kentucky.*

Brotherhood in Our Church School

—A curriculum is only as good as its application to the situation at hand. We found that the fall quarterly work last year needed some adaptation. So in discussion meetings with the teachers we embarked upon an activity which benefited not only our own church school children and those of the Union Baptist Church in Stamford

but the children of Haines House in Alaska as well.

While previewing the quarter, we noticed a mission collection for several areas around the country. Our teachers suggested that our collection should be made for some local center, since so much would be given to the mission projects from other church schools. We discussed the various racial centers in our community, and finally vetoed the idea of making any of them the beneficiaries of our efforts. We realized that such a project might only point up differences and rifts, and we were working for understanding of all groups.

We then conceived the idea of getting together with one of the Negro congregations in town, and the project was a tremendous success! The primary children of Union Baptist Church and of our church made a school-kit collection for the Eskimo children of Haines House.

Though we collected the materials separately, we church school superintendents had planned the work together, and in December the two groups of children and teachers met with their gifts, on the mutual ground of helping others.

The first joint meeting was held at the Presbyterian church, but subsequent meetings have been planned for both churches only the beginning of what we hope will be a lasting friendship.

—*Louise M. Peebles, primary superintendent, First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Connecticut.*

Still, No Room in the Inn

Prof. Ralph A. Felton, of Drew Seminary, relates an experience he had the week before Christmas while studying Negro rural churches in North Carolina. As he and a Negro teacher were driving through small villages of the eastern part of the state, they had to keep going till the middle of the afternoon before they

could find a place that would serve them their noon meal. Even the gas stations displayed big signs over the rest rooms, "For whites only." But each of these little towns was beautifully decorated for the Christmas season. Many of them had a loudspeaker and a record player producing Christmas carols telling of peace and good will.

“THE PRESSURE TO BUY AND CORRUPT”

By H. H. WILSON, member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, and author of Congress: Corruption and Compromise. Reprinted from The Nation with permission.

IN JANUARY, 1950, Senator Estes Kefauver introduced a bill calling for a full-scale Senate investigation of crime in interstate commerce. After a hard struggle, first with those who sought to prevent such an investigation and then to see who would control it, Kefauver and his supporters, in May, 1950, succeeded in bringing into being the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce.

While the hearings had vast entertainment value for newspaper readers and for the reported 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 television audience, it is doubtful that they contributed greatly to our understanding of the nature and sources of crime in American society or to our prospects for eliminating organized criminal activity. Only if the committee's findings are looked upon as a starting point, as a bringing up to date of one phase of the problem, will the \$265,000 spent on the investigation during the first twelve months produce an adequate return.

Apparently emotional fervor and moral uplift got in the way of realis-

tic appraisal of crime and delinquent conduct as an integral aspect of American society. In the words of Senator Kefauver, "Serving on the Crime Committee was a tremendous emotional experience for all of us."

IN ANY case, in the entire list of committee recommendations not one seems capable of rallying sustained public support or of providing opportunity for positive action. True, among its accomplishments the Crime Committee does cite the "tremendous response in the nature of public awakening and its constructive reaction to enlightenment . . . a far-reaching chain reaction" which is being expressed in grand-jury activity and "little Kefauver committees" in "many state legislatures." And it believes it "reasonable to forecast that venal politicians whose corruption has permitted the racketeers to become so firmly entrenched will in large measure be eliminated as aroused and awakened citizens go to the polls." A look at the record, however, arouses acute skepticism on this score. The history of almost any

American city would show that "aroused and awakened citizens" seldom pursue reform for very long and almost never tackle the root sources of corruption.

POLITICAL corruption," according to Lincoln Steffens, "is not a matter of men or classes or education or character of any sort; it is a matter of pressure. Wherever the pressure is brought to bear, society and government cave in. The problem, then, is one of dealing with the pressure, of discovering and dealing with the cause or the source of the pressure to buy and corrupt." We need to know what it is in society that forces individuals to pursue socially defined and approved goals by unlawful means. We have reached a stage in our national development where the exclusive pursuit of individual ends may well cause the disintegration of our society. It is not enough for the committee to say that success in the fight against crime and corruption "depends on the uplifting of standards of public and private morality, a rededication to basic spiritual values which will entail righteous indignation over" these conditions. Nor does Spruille Braden's suggestion—"I sometimes wonder if the Soviet is not, at least in some measure, inciting these vermin to defile our system of law and order"—advance our understanding. Let's face it: graft, crime, corruption, the "fix" are imbedded in the

very fabric of our highly competitive society.

One byproduct of the current spate of investigations by Congressional committees, grand juries, and state crime commissions has been a growing awareness that more is involved in these revelations of corruption than the defiant behavior of a few individuals. It was some such realization that prompted Senator J. W. Fulbright, speaking in the Senate on March 27, 1951, to suggest the formation of a Commission on Ethics in the Federal Government. As the result of his speech, Senator James E. Murray, chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, appointed a subcommittee to hold hearings and make recommendations to Congress concerning the creation of such a commission. Headed by Senator Paul Douglas, the subcommittee included Senators Matthew M. Neely, Hubert H. Humphrey, Wayne Morse, and George Aiken. With Frank W. McCulloch and George A. Graham ably assisting it as consultants and Philip A. Wilkie as counsel, the subcommittee has now filed a report the implications of which are more interesting than the specific recommendations.

There can be little quarrel, however, with the recommendations. Most of them are timely and valuable and warrant early adoption, though since the subcommittee has not by any means completed its assignment, it would be unfair to judge its work

at this point. By and large, the recommendations have to do with formal aspects of government and politics: amendments to the Administrative Procedures Act which would tend to establish a higher standard of ethics for Federal officials; legislation to compel all members of Congress as well as Federal officials to report annually any income received in excess of \$10,000; cancellation of contracts corruptly negotiated; and similar remedies.

Other internal reforms that might have been suggested are the elimination of a seniority rule and the establishment of a panel of chairmen to lessen the possibility of any individual member of Congress having enough power to be worth tempting; a self-denying ordinance which would prevent the attachment of riders to bills; delegation to the Federal courts of power to pass on election-law violations; and so on. But as long as there is so little determination to enforce laws already on the statute books—a subcommittee of the Senate has reported that Senator John Marshall Butler violated three or four state and Federal laws in his campaign against Tydings, but no action has been taken against him—it is apparent that still more laws will not remedy the situation.

Since politics is but one phase of the social life of a people, it is not to be expected that reforms in this area will be sufficient. Furthermore, investigations too narrowly focused on

formal government and politics have their dangers. More is involved, too, in the current concentration on “ethics” than a desire on the part of the Republicans to accumulate ammunition for the 1952 campaign. It is significant that many right-wing journals, newsletters, and individuals whose devotion to democratic institutions has not been notable have enthusiastically capitalized on this opportunity to attack Congress and an Administration falsely described as “liberal.”

PART of the current emphasis on “ethics” comes from those who still seek to discredit both the New Deal and the concept of government as a device for meeting society’s needs. Thus the *Wall Street Journal* finds that the present “moral decay” started in March, 1933, and stems from the philosophy that “the public treasury belongs to him who gets there first.” Although “there was no lack of personal probity among” New Deal officials, it was then “that there was sown, subtle and insidious, the general disregard for the statute books and the orderly processes of law that have brought public morality to its present state.” One might have thought that the use of public funds and political influence for private gain had a rather longer tradition, going back at least to Alexander Hamilton’s administration of the Treasury and flowering after the Civil War—not to mention

Teapot Dome and other scandals of that era.

FOR MORE than half a century we have periodically heard clarion calls from business leaders for moral crusades, "good government," and responsible citizenship, together with pious affirmations of "service" and "trusteeship"; but there is little evidence that antisocial behavior at any level of society has significantly decreased. There seems, instead, to have been an intensification of political apathy and cynicism. The late Willie Moretti stated an extreme but relevant philosophy when he told the Kefauver committee that "everything's a racket today. Everybody has a racket of his own. The stock market is a racket. Why don't they make everything legal?"

And *The New York Times* said in an editorial, "One just doesn't know the answer to this question [Moretti's] except as a matter of expediency." As Al Capone observed in circumstances similar to those eliciting Moretti's comment, "What have I done except to supply the demands of our best citizens?" The subcommittee's report notes the same point: "No group in society is in a position to point the finger of scorn at others. Influence peddlers can exist only as long as businessmen or others are willing to patronize them."

If we now wish to reduce the amount of so-called antisocial behavior, it is time we recognized that

certain aspects of the social structure generate conditions in which violations of social codes may actually constitute a normal response.

Others will charge that convincing evidence of widespread deterioration in social morale is lacking. To these the answer is twofold: that even if we have always had political corruption and ruthless self-seeking in our economic life, we have now reached a stage in our national development which demands the operation of a social ethic; and that the corruption revealed in recent years is more serious because it has sifted down to every level of society, even infiltrating institutions that once served, in theory at least, as guardians of public morals and ethical codes.

OUR world," writes Luther Gulick, "has moved so far and so fast in family life, in community life, in work relations, in economic affairs, in international affairs, that the standards of personal behavior which we call morality and the relationships we call religion have had a hard time to keep up with events. . . . America seems to be a nation not only adrift as to moral standards, trying to navigate with obsolete charts, but more adrift now than forty years ago." When it becomes necessary for a police department to issue a handbook to teachers on how to detect the use of narcotics among minors, and to suggest that they report to the police any signs

of narcotic addiction among their pupils, it behooves a society to take heed.

THE Kefauver committee revealed some fairly sordid conditions, but the facts in the Senate report on "Substandard Housing and Rent Gouging of Military Personnel" are in many ways more significant. Landlords charged members of the armed forces fabulous rents for slightly converted chicken coops, shacks made of whisky bottles and beer cans, rickety garages, coal sheds, and icehouses. A shrewd clergyman rented a part of some former CCC barracks for \$25 a month and sublet it to two soldiers and their families for \$148 a month. The rents paid for these hovels, commonly without plumbing or utilities, were often from 100 to 500 per cent more than local civilians had previously paid. These landlords, be it noted, were "little people," not grasping capitalists. In the words of the report, "the only rule of thumb many landlords have heard of is, 'Get what you can.'" Can a complex, interdependent society continue to operate when such an ethic is widely accepted? Yet with our predilection for a devil theory of social behavior, we continue to focus resentment on individuals and fail to direct it against the imperatives of a culture and a value system which produce this sort of behavior.

A statement by Earl Puckett, of

Allied Stores Corporation, illustrates another facet of this ethic. In giving "Stern" advice to a group of fashion experts, Puckett warned them that "basic utility cannot be the foundation of a prosperous apparel industry. . . . We must accelerate obsolescence. . . . It is our job to make women unhappy with what they have. . . . You might call us 'merchants of unhappiness.' . . . We must make these women so unhappy that their husbands can find no happiness or peace in their excessive saving." Hardly a notable assist in the national fight against inflation!

THAT even churches are not totally lacking in commercial talent is indicated by a brief account in *The New York Times* of a real-estate transaction in New York City. Having leased a Madison Avenue site ever since 1866, the Roman Catholic archdiocese purchased it from the city in 1944 for \$275,000. In 1950 the city "acquired title to the property for \$1,250,000" and began construction of a new public school.

This "sickness of an acquisitive society" is not limited to what is normally thought of as commercial pursuits. The corruption and fever of self-seeking are to be found in all the institutions of society. Most revealing on this score is the General Accounting Office's *Report of Survey—Veterans' Education and Training Program*. Here may be found examples of how city and state school

boards and public and private schools and universities have cheated the Veterans Administration and the Treasury. The report would make fascinating reading to football and basketball players who have been charged with violating the moral code. With restraint *The New York Times* commented, "Some sharp practices were brought to light to the discredit of more than one educational institution."

WHEN "antisocial" conduct becomes so characteristic and pervasive as this, we must examine the coercive nature of the culture itself. A culture that tries to hide or deny facts by moral pretensions that do not change the facts makes cynics of those who know the truth.

The Kefauver investigations made it clear that aberrant behavior was due less to the lack of an ethical code than to the existence of a code that called for loyalty and responsibility only toward the individual's immediate group. This is not a response peculiar to "criminal" types. It applies to ordinary citizens in all walks of life.

To ignore these realities is to indulge in utopian escapism or to compound cynicism. Short of a reformation of incentives and values for the individual, the best that can be hoped for is a declining tolerance for the more obvious abuses. As a matter of fact, it is dangerous to raise public expectations beyond this.

With Lawrence Frank we must recognize that "so long as our society has no clear aims or purposes but to grant individuals opportunity for self-aggrandizement, there is no reasonable basis for deprecating racketeering."

THE basic dilemma derives from the fact that any reform appears as a challenge to those who wield effective power or enjoy privilege in our society. To ask a capitalist society to develop new social organizations, incentives, and values by democratic methods and the application of social intelligence is to ask something rarely attempted and never accomplished. Yet attainment of a viable democratic society requires nothing less. The task will be made more difficult by the fact that for fifteen years we have relied on fear to force conformity; indeed, we live in a society in which personal integrity has become a luxury. Margaret Mead has outlined the task and program that must be implemented in every phase of society: "Those social behaviors which automatically preclude the building of a democratic world must go—every social limitation of human beings in terms of heredity, whether it be of race, or sex, or class. Every social institution which teaches human beings to cringe to those above and step on those below must be replaced by institutions that teach people to look each other straight in the face."

THE RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE

By LYLE TATUM, *Executive Secretary, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.*

ALTHOUGH the Presbyterian Church has never been among the pacifist denominations, Presbyterian tradition and General Assembly pronouncements have continuously affirmed the right of conscience. Individual Presbyterians who have taken a pacifist stand have found support and sanction in the Presbyterian fellowship.

In 1940 the General Assembly recognized that "some of our most loyal and sincere Presbyterians, both adults and young people, both ministers and laymen, believing that war is inconsistent with their Christian faith, cannot conscientiously engage in military service." This was not a new idea but a reaffirmation of previous statements such as the one in 1933 which called military training "distinctly anti-Christian in character" and the 1930 statement quoting, "God alone is lord of the conscience." The 1930 pronouncement also stated that the right of citizenship should not be conditioned contrary to conscience, on a willingness to bear arms.

In connection with the citizenship statement, reaffirmed in 1950, it is interesting to note that the second pacifist granted citizenship under the pacifist oath in the McCarran

Act was a Presbyterian, Mrs. Marion Sanborne, a former Canadian now living in Kentucky.

The United States was at war in 1942 and pacifism was no longer a theoretical position. The General Assembly stated that "we reaffirm past deliverances of General Assembly on the equal standing within the fellowship and support of the Church of those who for conscience' sake either object to or participate in war."

Only a small minority of the membership were conscientious objectors to war, and these dedicated few welcomed the fellowship of the group. Two hundred and thirty-five Presbyterians were assigned to Civilian Public Service Camps instead of to the armed forces. These men served without pay or GI benefits, working in mental hospitals, serving as human "guinea pigs," and fighting forest fires. One Civilian Public Service unit worked at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City.

Selective Service never announced the official statistics, but probably at least six hundred Presbyterian men went into the Army as conscientious objectors assigned to the Medical Corps. These men were willing to join the armed forces only if their

abilities could be used constructively for the relief of suffering. They would not kill or join in the destruction that is an inevitable part of war.

Many small denominations, such as the Mennonites, Church of the Brethren, Society of Friends (Quakers), Christadelphians, Molikans, have always been officially pacifist. Within the large denominations pacifism is a small but vital and growing force. Most denominations, including the Presbyterian, have organized pacifist fellowships which are affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an international Christian pacifist organization.

Presbyterian Responsibility

Presbyterians have a real opportunity and responsibility in their own communities to protect the rights of conscience and prevent injustices. As simple a thing as a counseling session with a boy, a visit to the draft board, or a talk with an editor may be the first step in a significant improvement of community practices.

Presbyterians can exert a moving and salutary influence on local opinion and practice by taking these five steps: (1) to make competent counseling on draft problems available to all young men of military age; (2) to welcome and support local conscientious objectors in the Presbyterian Church; (3) to be sure that C. O.'s get fair consideration from local draft boards; (4) to see that there are local attorneys who

will defend the rights of conscience in court; (5) to urge local newspapers to show an understanding of conscience in news columns and editorials.

Pacifist Position

Christian pacifism cuts across denominational patterns and is consistent with many varied lines of Christian thought. Some pacifists come to the position through a fundamentalist theology and others through liberal theology. All Christian pacifists see love as the essence of the life and death of Jesus. They reject participation in war because they consider war and love as irreconcilable. They do not reject war to face conflict with a vacuum. They courageously replace war with the positive force of love. How can you love your enemy and kill him? How can you return good for evil with guns and bombs? The pacifist concludes that it is better to suffer than to inflict suffering.

The arguments against pacifism are generally based on the futility of renouncing force in today's world. Pacifists realize that they cannot guarantee victory in the way most people think of it. They also realize that Jesus lived in an occupied country and was crucified, a peculiar form of victory.

What is happening to these young men who hold this faith and are subject to selective service? All conscientious objectors subject to draft

enter the armed forces as noncombatants, or do two years of civilian service, or go to prison. The situation is essentially the same as it was during World War II. Then 25,000 men did noncombatant duty, 12,000 did civilian service, and 6,000 went to prison. An additional 35,000 objectors were never drafted because they had farm deferments, were classified 4-F, or had some other reason for deferment.

Noncombat Service

Objectors who are willing to become noncombatants in the armed forces are classified 1-A-O by their local draft boards. These men are drafted in the same order and way as the 1-A men. They also receive the same pay, GI benefits, etc., as regular soldiers. These men are assigned to the Army medical corps, and, with the exception of some of the weapon training, they get the same courses as other medics. They do not use guns, although they may change their minds and do so if they wish. Oftentimes they are assigned to combat areas. One such man won a Congressional Medal of Honor during World War II. The 1-A-O training program is now being transferred to Camp Pickett, Virginia, from Fort Meade, Maryland, and Fort Houston, Texas. Sometimes 1-A-O's 'are clerks, chaplains' assistants, or cooks, but these assignments are given only upon specific request by the objector. Objectors

cannot be commissioned officers except in the Medical Corps and Chaplaincy.

C.O.'s and Civilian Service

Religious objectors who because of conscience cannot participate to any degree in the armed forces are classified 1-O. Under the Selective Service Act of 1948 these men were deferred and had no obligation for any type of service. The new Service Act now in effect requires two years of civilian service, also that the work done must contribute to "the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest." This is being interpreted as volunteer work with nonprofit agencies and employment by state institutions. The C.O.'s receive the regular wage for whatever job they are assigned. These are generally low-wage jobs which cannot be filled from the labor market. C.O.'s do an extremely valuable service as attendants in mental hospitals, and their labor is especially sought for this field.

1-O's do not have re-employment rights, GI benefits, dependency allotments, and other such financial advantages available to men drafted into the armed forces.

Some C.O.'s Go to Prison

These are the men who have conscientiously violated the draft law. Recognizing that "God alone is lord of the conscience," they take their stand on a law that has precedence

over the U.S. Congress. The maximum penalty for violating the UMTS Act is five years in prison and \$10,000 fine.

C.O.'s are in prison for two reasons. The majority of them are willing to perform civilian service under the law but are unable to get the proper classification from Selective Service. Eventually, they must disregard their conscience and go into the armed forces or disregard the law and go to prison. In a similar situation are political, philosophical, and humanitarian objectors who are ruled out of consideration for C.O. classification because their stand is not on religious grounds.

C.O.'s also go to prison for taking the "absolutist" position. These men feel that since conscription is a necessary part of modern war they will not give any co-operation with the draft law. These men refuse to register, or they register and co-operate no farther. There is no legal defense for this position.

Sentences of C.O.'s vary considerably with different judges, but the national average is about thirty months. The highly technical and complicated procedure for obtaining C.O. recognition, arbitrary draft boards, and antagonistic courts have caused many serious injustices. One Quaker boy served a year and a day sentence and when back in court again was sentenced to ten years in prison for two more violations of the draft law. Fortunately, public

pressure got the sentence reduced to five years. Another young man served eighteen months in the pay-less Civilian Public Service program of World War II, then refused to co-operate farther and was sent to prison. He is now married, has four children, and is serving his third prison term for steadfast refusal to co-operate with the draft. A Presbyterian boy is charged with five violations of the law and could be sentenced to twenty-five years in prison, although it now appears that the case can be settled without a prison sentence if the state appeal board will grant him C.O. classification. These are extreme examples of injustices, but they illustrate a potential danger to religious freedom, if not an actual violation of our democratic heritage.

What Presbyterian C.O.'s Should Do

Every Presbyterian conscientious objector should file with the Stated Clerk, Office of the General Assembly, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., a statement in his own handwriting setting out the reasons for his conscientious stand. The General Assembly has established this method for C.O.'s to have their stand officially recorded. This record is helpful in obtaining C.O. status under Selective Service.

For more detailed information write the author at 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

EQUAL RIGHTS—FACTS, NOT MYTHS

By NANCY CUTLER, *Oregon synodical president and member of civic and church organizations.*

THIS is the story of the slow but steady efforts to make Portland, Oregon, a place where brotherhood and equal rights are accepted facts instead of myths. It points up a tremendous moral for the churches in our town and the task before them of building with God's help not only a Christian community but a Christian world. It is true we were defeated at the polls, but we were neither daunted nor discouraged. We have strengthened our own forces of strategy and action with the hope that Portland may still be a place where brotherly religion is lived.

Prior to Pearl Harbor, the greater Portland, Oregon, area numbered among its population 1,934 Negroes.

The Negro residents felt a certain sense of security, of course, under the Jim Crow system. Then with the coming of the war and the activation of the shipyards, the Negro population rapidly increased to 25,000. This sudden influx of colored Americans was met with much resentment by white and Negro Portlanders alike. Negroes who had lived here for years felt that their established position would be disrupted by the coming of large numbers of Southern Negroes.

As wartime housing shortages grew, tensions began to tighten. Many concerned persons opposed to racial segregation appeared at a meeting in which the mayors of Portland and of Vancouver, Washington, together with Housing Authority officials attempted to devise a plan for nonsegregated living. But segregation was established in spite of the objections of these community leaders. Resentment plus segregation soon made Portland a virtual "powder keg" ready to explode at any time. And several minor skirmishes added to the feeling of insecurity.

THE Congregational Conference of Oregon felt that some constructive action must be taken, so in 1945, George Thomas, Negro lawyer, was brought to Portland and placed on the staff of the Portland Council of Churches as Director of Race Relations. Within a short time the Urban League commissioned Edwin C. Berry, Assistant Director of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to establish the Urban League of Portland and serve as its executive secretary. Despite their efforts conditions did not change very much, and at the

war's end, Portland was mentioned by some as the worst city in race relations north of Mason and Dixon's line. Although many Negroes as well as whites began to leave for other places, approximately 13,000 Negroes remained to make Portland their home.

DURING the course of events Portland, in 1948, elected a new mayor, Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee, who was a champion of American democracy. She soon appointed an advisory committee under the leadership of Dr. Myron C. Cole, Christian Church minister, to study race relations. After an intensive investigation a subcommittee was formed to become an educational committee, devoted to preparing and educating the community to pass a city ordinance making illegal discrimination against any person because of race, creed, or color. This group was to be known as the United Committee for Civil Rights and represented some fifty sponsoring organizations, including the Council of Churches and Council of Churchwomen, colleges, teachers, labor, the Urban League, and others. An executive secretary was engaged by the United Committee to take charge of the organizational work. Special credit should go to the churches and churchwomen's organizations for financial aid, and to the other organizations that gave administrative assistance.

Speakers from the speakers' bureau took Portland's problems of brotherhood directly to the people and the groups they attended. Pamphlets were prepared and distributed in the churches and at meetings of civic groups. The new ordinance was drafted and there seemed to be a strong body of opinion favoring it.

In February the City Council voted unanimously for the passage of this city ordinance. The council chambers overflowed with those desiring to speak in favor of the ordinance. Only a few rose to speak against it. In the same month Portland was honored by an award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews as the city having made the "greatest improvement" in race relations. But citizens really concerned about race relations could not be "puffed up" about the award because there was still so much to be done before race prejudice and discrimination could be overcome.

IN THE months following passage of the civil rights ordinance those who had opposed it organized. They circulated petitions and secured the required number of signatures to have the measure referred to the voters at the November election. (Under the Oregon statute on "Initiative and Referendum," 15 per cent of the registered voters who voted for justice of Oregon State Supreme Court in the last election

can sign petitions which would refer to the people for voting any issue at the next election.)

BUT THE legality of these petitions was questioned by a great many people. Many signers reported later that their signatures were obtained by misrepresentation. In fact, one young lady after signing the petition was so chagrined at having signed it that she went to work harder than ever and was able to get a good many to vote for the ordinance when it was put on the ballot.

It became evident, however, that the job was not finished! The opposition was already working overtime! A new chairman of the United Committee was appointed. The executive board hired a new executive secretary and an office secretary. The first task of the new executive secretary (with the help of committee members) was to secure approximately seventy sponsoring organizations so the United Committee might enlarge its influence.

The executive board then appointed a financial committee headed by a local attorney. And so effective were their money-raising activities that contributions totaled over \$13,000. This well-organized group of business and professional men inspired many other interested persons to solicit their organizations and friends for support of the civil rights ordinance. There was a class of small Sunday school children who put

their pennies into an envelope for the cause. There was the little boy who gave his show money, because, he said, then maybe his little colored playmate could go have ice cream with him. There were many who could not afford to give financially, but they gave many hours of service because they believed in the application of the Golden Rule.

Thousands of posters and leaflets were widely distributed, urging that there be "no color line in the front line" of democracy's attacks on racism. More people were enlisted in the speakers' bureau to meet the mounting requests for speakers.

THE next task was to develop a publicity committee, which was soon at work. Billboard signs were placed in various parts of the city. Poster cards were printed and placed in conspicuous places in business establishments.

It would be impossible to go on with this story without stopping here to commend our newspapers. For they have discontinued the use of racial identification and now carry news items about Negroes and use pictures throughout their papers, and not only in the sports section as heretofore.

Radio time was purchased by the United Committee and a commendable job was done over the air. Both political parties endeavored to cooperate. Many statements by leading citizens of the nation, state, and city

were made public in the newspapers. The Council of Churches held a racial clinic. The Council of Churchwomen included race relations in its annual missions coaching classes. Forums, panels, and discussion groups were held in all types of organizations. Many ministers preached sermons on the brotherhood of man.

THE United Committee met weekly to strengthen its campaign, but the returns on election day proved that the committee had not been strong enough. The voters defeated the measure! But the campaign for civil rights in Portland is not dead. We lost on election day, and we know why we lost. We have analyzed our mistakes, and have appraised what must be done in the future if brotherhood and democracy are to win. Our post-mortems convinced us that because of the United Committee's work, many people became aware of the struggles and hardships of minority groups and the suffering resulting from discrimination. They revealed that many churches will need to put into practical operation their Christian principles of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This will take inspired leadership and planning through organization.

I should like to quote briefly from a report made to the United Committee by the executive secretary of the Urban League which sums up

the thinking of the committee members.

On the Negative Side:

1. We did not carry the votes of a large per cent of the membership of our affiliated organizations.
2. We did not do a "grass roots" job with the individual members of these affiliated organizations, nor in the entire community.
3. Too few churches made a burning *moral* issue of civil rights. In a large per cent of more than five hundred churches we had no known allies.
4. The wording of the ordinance was confusing. No one really knew exactly how extensive its provisions were, or how it would operate, for example, in regard to barber and beauty shops, etc. The opposition made an outright play upon the prejudices of people, and led residents to believe that the ordinance encouraged Negroes to move into "white" apartment houses. Because our educational program failed to interpret the real facts about housing and realty values to homeowners, we lost a large number of votes.
5. The areas populated by the educated and economically secure voted *for* the ordinance. The largest solid vote against it was in an area of lower-middle and middle-class white residents, many

of whom identify social status with racial isolation. This district is also near the "black belt" and there is some "infiltration." A large portion of the residents in this area have swallowed the realty propaganda—and believe the "myth of lowered property values."

6. We did not have enough people trained in the facts about civil rights. A well-informed and articulate person can be extraordinarily effective in "converting" others and bringing along entire groups.

On the Positive Side:

1. We achieved the highest degree of intergroup organization and co-operation that this community has ever experienced through the United Committee for Civil Rights.

2. The election revealed just exactly where we stand. It indicates where work needs to be done. We are no longer "flying blind."

3. The election results knocked the complacency out of a few people on our team.

4. We polled 45 per cent of all votes. No one can disregard 61,000 people.

5. We emerged from the effort with new vigor and new determination; with a great many friends and some fresh leadership. The happy ending of this story

cannot be told yet, as it is in the making.

The Urban League of Portland made a survey of 208 eating establishments and found twelve of them discriminating. This fact was submitted to a twelve-man Intergroup Relations Commission. The commission convinced the owners of five of the places that they should change their policies.

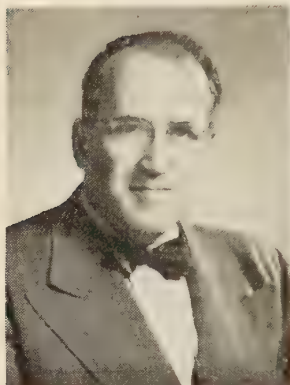
The students of all Portland colleges have undertaken a "Fair Rose" campaign. All proprietors who agree to serve all races without restriction receive a Fair Rose seal. These are the symbols of the equality of man. At this writing we are happy to say that only three eating establishments still discriminate. We commend the Urban League, the twelve-man commission, the students of the colleges, but especially hotel men and restaurateurs who are serving all races equally.

Jobs for the colored are now more numerous and continue to open. Colored students are admitted to medical and law schools and colleges. Hospitals are nonsegregated with colored physicians, nurses, and other personnel employed.

The number of nonsegregated churches is growing, though the growth is much too slow for the real Church of Christ. We take heart, however, that there is growth.

The civil rights ordinance was defeated, but the efforts of the concerned are not lost.

CLIFFORD EARLE BECOMES DIVISION SECRETARY



REVEREND CLIFFORD EARLE has been appointed Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education. He succeeds Dr. Paul Newton Poling who, in January, became minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Salem, Oregon. Mr. Earle has been Associate Secretary for four years. He has carried responsibilities in the fields of alcohol education, race relations, economic life, and leadership training.

A native of Wisconsin, Mr. Earle received a degree in electrical engineering from Marquette University. He attended McCormick Theological Seminary, finishing his work there in 1934.

He has held pastorates in Racine, Wisconsin, and in Chicago and Oak Park, Illinois. For several years he served with unusual effectiveness as chairman of the social education and action committee of the Presbytery of Chicago.

Mr. Earle brings to his new assignment many qualifications. He is an able student of social problems as they relate to the life of the Church and the responsibility of Christians. He is known for his abilities in making public presentations, for his executive qualities, and for his skill as a creative and forceful writer. The most recent of his writings is the new Westminster Press publication *How to Help an Alcoholic*.

Miss Margaret Kuhn continues her highly effective service in the Division with official assignments related to SOCIAL PROGRESS and women's work. She also carries the community relations portfolio.

The work of the Division is being studied in the light of the mandate of General Assembly for the development of a strong program of social education and action. Everything possible will be done to strengthen this important arm of our Church.

The Division's program is based on the social pronouncements of the General Assembly. The declarations, over the years, provide a wide platform from which to speak and act. All must realize, however, that nothing really happens in social education and action until it happens in the local church. We are keeping this in mind as we review the present program and as we plan for the future.

Paul Calvin Payne, General Secretary, Board of Christian Education

HOW TO WIN THE U. S. SENATE

IN 14—AH, SIMPLE—LESSONS

If they laugh when you sit at the piano, you can always play "America."

By JAMES RESTON, *special correspondent*, The New York Times. *Reprinted with permission of The New York Times.*

THOUGH Chester Bowles, of Connecticut, and Philip Jessup, of New York, have had trouble getting confirmed by the Senate, most observers here believe that confirmation can be achieved by paying attention to a few simple rules.

Among those are the following:

1. Be sure you are for the things that are going to be popular six or seven years from now.

2. Don't join anything, ever!

3. Don't let your wife join anything, either.

4. Don't get involved in foreign affairs questions at all if you can help it. If you can't help it, back the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door Policy and be against Communism.

5. If you must have political convictions about foreign policy questions (which is not recommended), make sure the President sends your nomination to Capitol Hill at a time when your convictions are popular.

6. Be suspicious of the British. And if you know what they're up to today in northern Rhodesia, all the better.

7. Don't write books.

8. Master various clichés that are

popular on Capitol Hill, including the following:

a. I am for adequate defense, but we must not spend ourselves into bankruptcy.

b. I am for helping other countries, but they must first prove that they are helping themselves.

c. America cannot defend the whole world.

d. Communism is merely socialism in a hurry and I hate both from the depths of my soul.

e. I am not and have never been a Communist or a member of any Communist front organization.

9. If possible, be Irish. This pleases Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat, of Nevada.

10. Keep up with the Senate's favorites. A word of praise on your behalf by Bernard M. Baruch, for example is worth maybe forty votes. Similarly, if you have any friends who are unpopular on Capitol Hill abandon them or denounce them publicly.

(Continued on page 30)

MR. SMITH GOES TO HARRISBURG

A Presbyterian layman's part in the struggle against the "Loyalty" Bill.

By JAY W. KAUFMAN, pastor, Collenbrook Presbyterian Church, Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania.

MANY good citizens went to Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, on December 11 to voice their views to the state legislature on the Pechan "Loyalty" Bill, then ready for final vote. (See "Penn's People Fight for Freedom," SOCIAL PROGRESS, December, 1951.)

Men who had fought the Fascist and the Nazi were there. For reasons difficult for others to understand they favored the bill, even though it would legalize the hated methods their former enemies had used. They came marching, some in uniform. Martial music and the sound of tramping feet accented their views.

Opponents of the bill were there. They came without fanfare or show of force. They brought only weapons of reason and truth.

Mr. Smith also was there. Mr. Smith represented the men's association of my church, which opposed the bill. We know him as "Winn." R. Winfield Smith is his full name. He is a young layman who has been deeply interested in the work of the church ever since he joined three years ago. He is a trustee and president of the Men's Fellowship. By profession he is a

social worker and an executive of the Pennsylvania Tuberculosis Association. His duties take him to the capital often. He has many friends in the legislature.

I suppose the groundwork for his trip to Harrisburg was laid on November 13, when Philadelphia Presbytery adopted a vigorously worded resolution in opposition to the Pechan Bill. But strangely enough, few members of the presbytery had seen a full text of the bill and were not fully aware of its insidious nature. A few days later one of my parishioners, Mrs. William Ralph Hall, kindly provided me with the complete text of the bill. After reading it through several times, I could hardly believe that such an infamous thing could be pressured through the legislature. I was convinced that some local opposition must begin. I gave the copy of the bill to Mr. Smith and suggested that, if he agreed, it would be proper to bring it before the Men's Fellowship.

Mr. Smith first procured 120 copies of the complete bill from the Citizens Council of Democratic Rights, made up lists of the names

and addresses of local state representatives and those responsible for reporting the bill out of committee. At the meeting of the men's group, Mr. Smith gave a splendid analysis of the bill, pointed out its totalitarian threat, and offered a resolution of opposition. The men gave instant response.

COPIES of the bill were made available to the congregation of my church on Sunday, December 2, and the action of the Men's Fellowship was mentioned in the church bulletin. Individual members of the congregation were urged to read the complete text of the bill and to express their views to their representatives in Harrisburg.

Mr. Smith wanted to circularize all the Presbyterian churches in the state, warning them of the dangers of the Pechan Bill. Through the co-operation of the synod office, which provided a mailing list, and the Citizens Council of Democratic Rights, which did the mailing, a letter was sent.

Finally, on the day the bill was to be reported out of committee and voted upon by the House, Mr. Smith went to Harrisburg. He heard the veterans marching in the streets; his heart was with the opponents' mass meeting in the Harrisburger Hotel, but he voiced his views in his own way. He chose the method of direct contact with the lawmakers. He explained his mission, his per-

sonal feelings on the bill, and the deep concern of his Presbyterian brethren throughout the state. They listened intently, and sought his advice and help in amending the bill to make it more palatable.

What happened after this is both good and bad. Good, because the bill did not immediately pass in its most dangerous form; bad because in its compromise form it pleased no one. But the opponents find solace in the fact that while they could not slay this creature of the totalitarian spirit outright, they crippled it badly and may have inflicted mortal wounds.

Just how much Mr. Smith helped to cripple this creature, I cannot say. He was only one among many devoted and faithful people who battled valiantly. But this I know: ministers throughout the state who replied to his "letter to the churches" indicate a very favorable attitude toward lay leadership in men's associations in battling against unwise legislation. And of another thing I am sure: one of the most effective methods of making your views known to your representatives is personal contact. They want and need your advice. Often they are driven into a corner by pressure groups and welcome your witness and strength to help get them out.

The day Mr. Smith went to Harrisburg, I am certain that he helped a number of lawmakers creep out of a chilly corner.

HELP FROM UNCLE SAM FOR SLUM FAMILIES

A statement by **RAYMOND M. FOLEY**, *administrator of the
Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.*

Housing is still in critically short supply in metropolitan areas. Ugly slums still blight large sections of our great cities, and efforts at slum clearance and redevelopment have often created new slums and new housing hardships for the families involved—hardships that are especially acute for Negro residents. The segregated habits of living which most communities follow contribute largely to their resettlement headaches. Minority groups must move out to make way for slum clearance and new housing, but there is no place to go!

The report of the Cicero race riot in last month's issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS pointed sharply to the failures of Federal housing agencies to deal with these matters.

The following statement by Mr. Foley recognizes the problem and sets forth a welcome plan for co-ordinating the various types of Federal assistance to local communities. Let us hope that it is the forerunner of other more forthright efforts to deal with the population pressures in our urban areas and to eliminate the causes of the potential conflict and tension which are the inevitable result of segregated housing.

THE clearance of slum areas for public housing projects for low-income families and for slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects for new private and public uses usually involves serious and difficult problems in the rehousing and relocation of families who may be displaced by such operations. In many cities, these problems are particularly pressing in the clearance of slum areas occupied by minority groups, many of whom have incomes exceeding the eligibility requirements for low-rent public housing.

To solve these problems in a community a concerted approach is required by the city and its appropriate public bodies, including local civic groups and individuals, acting with the co-operation of all the constituent agencies and divisions of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The objective of this approach should be to assure not only that the families to be displaced are rehoused in accordance with statutory requirements and objectives without undue hardship, but also that the rehousing does not

in itself produce overcrowding and new areas of blight. The achievement of this objective will usually require expansion of housing facilities and living space, particularly where racial minorities are to be displaced.

The communities themselves primarily have the task of developing and carrying out a feasible method for adequate relocation of families displaced from slums they want to clear, and approvals of local public housing and slum clearance projects for Federal aid are predicated on the communities' assumption of this responsibility.

The resources of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies are available to assist communities in meeting their relocation problems. Where local problems are particularly critical, the HHFA will be prepared to undertake special steps in a concerted effort to assist in their solution.

To make Federal aids available on a co-ordinated basis, the HHFA has developed a national method for the use of various types of assistance, to be carried out through the following special steps.

Encouragement to Private Builders

The Federal Housing Administration will actively undertake to encourage and assist private builders in a practical program of developing both sale and rental housing

available to middle-income families suited to the needs of displaced families, and will assist and encourage the development of vacant land areas for housing available to minority groups to the maximum extent possible, consistent with the market for such housing.

Rehousing Without Hardship

The Public Housing Administration will consider each stage of demolition on a slum site separately, with appropriate provision for deferring demolition if relocation activity would produce excessive hardship on the families involved. Contracts for any additional slum sites for public housing will not be approved until the progress being made in relocating families and in increasing the general housing supply for displaced families in the locality, particularly minority groups, indicates that the families to be displaced can be rehoused without undue hardship.

Enforcement for Local Housing Laws

The Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment will not approve a loan and grant application for the redevelopment of slum areas unless relocation plans indicate the ability of the community to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing within the means of families to be displaced. Ordinarily such plans must include evidence of an

expanding housing supply in the locality, particularly for racial minorities when such families are to be displaced. The Division will also require measures established locally to provide effective enforcement of local housing ordinances, especially in so-called "transition" areas where families may be relocated, to protect them against substandard housing conditions.

Although the several authorities exercised in these various steps represent administratively separate operations, their co-ordinated use recognizes that substantial displacement of families, from whatever cause, becomes a common problem in the community, and that the provision of an adequate supply of housing for such families, particularly minority groups, requires the concerted effort of all types of Federal assistance.

The co-ordinate use of these authorities is explicitly called for in the policy set forth in the Housing Act of 1949, which says in part: "The Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies, and any other departments or agencies of the Federal Government having powers, functions, or duties with respect to housing, shall exercise their powers, functions, or duties un-

der this or any other law, consistently with the national housing policy declared by this Act and in such manner as will facilitate sustained progress in attaining the national housing objective hereby established, and in such manner as will encourage and assist . . . the production of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life . . . [and] the development of well-planned, integrated, residential neighborhoods and the development and redevelopment of communities."

Much-needed Redevelopment for Chicago

This co-ordinated approach was instituted initially with the approval of four low-rent public housing projects and a capital grant contract on an urban redevelopment project in Chicago, announced on November 5, 1951. The method and underlying policies, however, are generally applicable in connection with Federal approvals and extension of Federal assistance in all communities faced with displacement and relocation problems in connection with Federally aided low-rent housing projects or slum clearance and redevelopment projects.

Racial and religious discrimination in American industry costs the nation \$30 billion annually, according to Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst. His estimates take into account the purchasing power denied minority groups by low wages and the cost of social maladjustment that can be traced directly to discrimination and prejudice.

Sanctuary

THE BELOVED COMMUNITY

"Ye shall seek me, and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart."—Jer. 29: 13.

Preparation:

"The profound hunger of our time is not for brotherly words, but for brotherly deeds, not for the publishing of brave resolutions, but for the launching of brave experiments. . . . What America and the world urgently need is love, gentleness, humanity — in action. Let such action begin now."—*From Epistle to White Christians, by Fred D. Wentzel. The Christian Education Press. Used by permission.*

Call to Worship:

Almighty God, thou who art holy, lead us, we beseech thee, in our communities, into ways of holiness. We have sought thee along many pathways, but too often we have not been willing to pay the price of finding thee. Guide us now into thy presence, as we search for thy will.

Meditation:

In our common communities across the land, let us express our prayerful concern for those who hold public office, that once again it may become indeed a sacred trust. And may the conscience of the Church sound again in high places as new frontiers of integrity flame into sight.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people."

Let us pray for those in our communities who have taken the short cuts to a false happiness. Teach them and us how to become once again sons of God by an inward renewal of life that does not come cheaply.

"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and . . . the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward."

Let us pray for all who are inadequately housed, and that the voice of an aroused community may meet the challenge of new plans and new vistas.

"For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind."

"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them: and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them."

Let us pray for our Church, that it may truly be a redeemed community, speaking the word of fellowship that knows no barriers, and unites us in the deeper search for His will in the larger community.

"For ye are all one in Christ."

Let us pray for those communities and for those people across the world whose hearts still cry, "The Beloved Country," that they may be delivered from the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear.

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

The Fellowship of Song:

"The King of Love My Shepherd Is" (John B. Dykes).

(To be spoken by leader):

"Where'er the gentle heart
Finds courage from above;
Where'er the heart forsook
Warms with the breath of love;
Where faith bids fear depart,
City of God, thou art.

"Where in life's common ways
With cheerful feet we go;
When in His steps we tread,
Who trod the way of woe;
Where He is in the heart,
City of God, thou art."

—Francis T. Palgrave.

The Realization of the Beloved Community:

"And in my dream, I saw again these pilgrims, yet no longer pilgrims, for they had glorified bodies and sang with the hosts of heaven; and their faces seemed to shine with joy, as the joy of the redeemed; and I caught something of the words they were singing, which said, 'And there shall be no night here, nor the need of candle nor the light of the sun, for the Lord God is the light of this place; and there shall be no more curse, nor pain, nor sorrow, nor crying, for the throne of God and of the Lamb is here, and we His servants shall serve Him; His name is in our foreheads and we shall stand in His presence, forever and forever.'" — *From The Pilgrim's Progress, by Wade C. Smith, published by the W. A. Wilde Company. Used by permission.*

Benediction:

Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit you, and may the very God of peace preserve you blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

—Prepared by Edler G. Hawkins, pastor, St. Augustine Presbyterian Church, New York, N.Y.; member, General Assembly Popular Program Committee on Interracial Relations.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

There is now only one basic importance in the world, the one importance on which the very existence of the race depends—the emotional relationship between the people of the world. Every political action in every country should be taken in the light of that fact. Whoever helps to elect anyone to any public office, in any country, on any other basis than his ability to improve the human relations of the people of the world, gambles with his own life and the lives of his children against, it may be, his hope of a job or of lowered taxes or of the satisfaction he might get in being on the winning side in a battle between political parties. Any or all of these things make a poor bet, weighed against the lives of the hundreds of millions of people who will be destroyed if there is another world war.

Our Responsibility Clear

Our own personal responsibility to our fellow humans is clear. Whoever is reasonably informed in any aspect of human emotional-mental-social development, whoever can do something to clarify thinking even a little and very locally, whoever can help to remove a prejudice, soften a hate, increase the total of understanding and tolerance in the world, by that knowledge, training, insight, or ability is made responsible to do what he can in all possible places. Research is valuable but may remain sterile for long periods, and time is short. Erudite papers read to technical gatherings and published in technical journals have their important place, but may be futile unless appropriate action follows. Responsibility of the informed and technically qualified is to all people, not just to the enlightened.

Whoever can get at people in homes or schools or university, in Parent-Teacher Associations, in home and school clubs, in youth groups, in churches or service clubs, by talking or writing, through lectures, radio, newspapers, magazines, books, or any other channels of communication, is obligated by his ability to serve the human race where he can to the limit of his equipment. Dare any of us say that he or she can do nothing about the desperate need of the world for better human relations?

—George Brock Chisholm, Director General, World Health Organization.

WASHINGTON'S NATIONAL THEATER

The abolishment of racial segregation in audiences at Washington's controversial National Theater, and the restoration there of legitimate stage productions after a two-and-one-half-year boycott by Actors Equity Association was announced recently by the new lessees of the historic playhouse, Richard Aldrich and Richard Myers, New York theatrical producers.

"It is a privilege and an honor," Mr.

Myers said, "to find ourselves in a position where we can not only return this playhouse to the speaking stage for which it was originally dedicated, but can at the same time strike a blow—and we hope a mortal one—at the evil of segregation which has for too long existed at this most famous and important theater in our nation."

—From American Unity.

1951's BUMPER CROP OF STUDENTS

The U. S. Office of Education has released the following statistics indicating that a record number of 33,120,000 students will have attended school during the 1951-1952 academic year:

Elementary Schools (including kindergartens)

	1951-1952	1950-1951
Public	21,318,000	20,674,000
Private and parochial.....	3,025,000	2,887,000
Other	125,000	125,000
Total elementary	24,468,000	23,686,000

Secondary Schools

Public	5,456,000	5,452,000
Private and parochial.....	658,000	635,000
Other	54,000	55,000
Total secondary	6,168,000	6,142,000

Higher Education

Universities, colleges, professional schools, including junior colleges and normal schools.....	2,225,000	2,500,000
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Other Schools

Private commercial schools.....	175,000	300,000
Nurse training schools (not affiliated with colleges and universities).....	85,000	75,000
	260,000	375,000

Grand Totals	33,121,000	32,703,000
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More Teachers Needed

In releasing this data, Earl J. McGrath, U.S. Commissioner of Education, warned that with three fourths of a million additional children in elementary schools, communities will be challenged more than ever before to provide a sufficient number of teachers and school buildings:

"Ninety-nine thousand new teachers are needed to fill positions left vacant by retirement, resignation, or death during 1951-1952. Additional numbers of children enrolled will require 21,600 teachers who did not teach last year. Of the 120,600 total, elementary schools will need 87,000 new teachers, high schools, 33,000. Although the supply of high school teachers will be found adequate in most communities, there will be a scarcity of elementary

schoolteachers with standard training."

New Classrooms

"To keep pace with the increasing number of children, who, by 1959-1960, will swell public and private elementary and secondary school enrollments by 6,500,000 to a high of 37,128,000, we will need approximately a half million more classrooms than we now have. Expanded school enrollments in 1951-1952 will call for 25,000 new classrooms. To replace obsolete facilities, an additional 18,000 classrooms should be provided. One of every five schoolhouses now in use throughout the United States should be abandoned or extensively remodeled because they are fire hazards, obsolete, or health risks."

—From Social Legislation Information Service, September 10, 1951.

TWO-WAY BRIDGE TO PEACE

Since children are always the innocent victims of war, it is fitting that they should have a voice and a hand in helping to build a world of understanding and peace. Here is a project that has proved to be a practical method of training even very young children for social responsibility—by giving them opportunities for learning and sharing within the range of their own experience and abilities.

The School Affiliation Service (SAS) is a tie between a school in the United States and a school abroad similar in type, interests, age, and number of students. A program of the "affiliation" of secondary and primary schools in Western Europe and the United States was inaugurated in 1946 by Dr. Alfred E. Stearns, former headmaster of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, with the co-operation of the American Friends Service Committee. In 1948 the program was taken over by the School Affiliation Service of the AFSC.

The short-range goal of the project was to give immediate material aid, so desperately needed in European countries during those first postwar years, and to develop among American students a spirit of service and greater sympathy for their less fortunate friends. The long-range goal was much more subtle, namely, to direct the activities of affiliated schools in all the countries toward a program of friendship.

How Does It Work?

Individual and group correspondence passes between the partner schools. Students, teachers, and parents overseas have begun to think of America not as Hollywood or Big Business, but as "my friends in the United States."

When American students hear of Italy, Germany, or France, they think of boys and girls with whom they correspond; they hear feet stamping to keep warm in

a classroom with broken windows; they see their friends trying to play without toys, paint without paintbrushes, learn without books. Study of other languages becomes a tool for understanding a friend instead of a tedious mental exercise—a tiny but essential step toward real American participation in world relationships.

France and Germany have the largest number of affiliations. There are others in Holland, Italy, and Japan. The number of schools associated in the program approaches five hundred.

The School Affiliation Service has brought together pairs of schools to build understanding and friendship—of school with school, class with class, and pupil with pupil. The exchange flows directly back and forth between the affiliates. SAS does not ask for completely detailed reports, but keeps records of easily available materials.

What Are the Results?

For the past year the School Affiliation Service has attempted to measure the success of the program. The evaluation was carried on through circulating questionnaires to some 180 American schools, visiting approximately 150 American schools and about the same number of European schools, and consulting with teachers and leaders in the field of education. Basically, the survey revealed that "the affiliation program is a potent medium for bringing international experience to students and teachers in elementary and secondary schools."

Specific benefits revealed during the survey were improved classroom work in geography, history, social studies, and foreign languages. Another value has been an outreach through radio, newspapers, and parents' organizations to include the community beyond the school in this international experience.

Schools abroad want to know what goes on in our classrooms; what we mean by education through extracurricular activities. They want to see our art work and to show us theirs. They want to sing our songs. They want to know what America is really like. They have much to give American boys and girls to help them understand other civilizations. On such

understanding peace may be built. For each school, whether in our country or in Europe or Asia, an affiliation can be an adventure for the entire student body as well as a foundation for peace.

Information about School Affiliation Service can be secured from American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Citizenship

Universal Military Service and Training

As we go to press, hearings on this legislation have been concluded before the House Armed Services Committee. Virtually all the leading religious and educational organizations, labor and farm groups, have spoken in opposition to this bill. As Dr. J. T. Sanders, of the National Grange, pointed out, practically no one spoke in favor of the measure except the professional soldiers, the veterans' organizations, and those having special and close connections with the military. The Association of American Colleges, meeting in Washington just prior to the opening of the hearings, went on record as being "strongly opposed" to UMT on the basis that it is "fantastically expensive, educationally undesirable, morally hazardous, and politically dangerous." At press time, hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee were already in progress. Opposition to this legislation seems to be mounting steadily throughout the country, and it is to be hoped that individuals will immediately make known their position to their Congressmen in order to bring about a defeat of this bill. Rev. Jay Warren Kaufman, minister of the Collenbrook Presbyterian Church, Drexel Hill, Pa., presented the testimony of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., before the House Committee. His presentation evoked considerable discussion among the

committee members. It is expected that the Church will similarly testify before the Senate Committee. Groups interested in making a study of universal military training may secure a packet of materials on this subject for 25 cents by writing to the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Federal Aid to Schools

The Defense Production Administration has announced that it will allot enough scarce steel to the nation's educational system to permit the construction of five hundred elementary and secondary schools this spring. During the April-May-June period, DPA will also allocate through the Federal Security Administration and the U.S. Office of Education enough steel, copper, and aluminum to complete or continue the construction of 2,400 elementary and secondary schools.

"There is not sufficient material available to support projects designed to improve the standards in existing facilities or build all the gymnasiums or administrative buildings requested," DPA said. "However, there is sufficient steel to cover all the requests for relief of overcrowded conditions if strict conservation measures are observed."

In regard to the actual allocation of Federal funds to overcrowded districts, Dr. Erick L. Lindman, director of the school assistance program, says he expects

that the number of projects aided will be considerably under the 240 figure for that period.

Migratory Labor

As we go to press, a Senate subcommittee is holding hearings on controversial proposals to improve the lot of domestic migratory farm workers and tighten controls on imported foreign labor.

The Labor-Management Relations subcommittee, headed by Senator Humphrey, of Minnesota, said the study would cover these proposals:

1. Inclusion of agricultural labor within the minimum wage and collective bargaining laws, which now exempt them.
2. A declaration of Federal policy against importing foreign contract labor until domestic labor resources have been exhausted.
3. Federal aid to assure adequate housing of migratory labor on the job.
4. Federal licensing of labor contractors operating across state lines.

On the other side of the Capitol, the House Judiciary Committee late in January voted to tighten regulations on the use of Mexicans for farm and ranch work in the United States. It approved for House consideration an immigration bill making it a felony to bring into this country an ineligible alien and making it a misdemeanor to transport, harbor, or conceal an alien illegally here. Conviction on the felony charge would be punishable by five years' imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine; on the misdemeanor charge, by one year imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine.

Immigration

As we go to press, the Senate Judiciary Committee has just approved a bill overhauling the nation's immigration laws—a measure growing out of a three-year study. It would codify, clarify, and at many points liberalize or toughen hundreds of piecemeal enactments adopted over the past 150 years. The bill would:

1. Wipe out existing racial bars to admittance and naturalization. Japanese, Koreans, Burmese, Siamese, and other Orientals could be admitted.
2. Provide that at least fifty per cent of each country's quota be set aside for aliens who, by their education, skills, or special training, would do the United States the most good.
3. Screen aliens more carefully, especially as to security risks.
4. Make structural changes in enforcement agencies.
5. Tighten rules covering the exclusion and deportation of aliens.
6. Provide a minimum immigration quota of 100 for all areas of the world.
7. Set the total quota for all foreign countries at 154,657 (an increase of 451 over the present quota).

Senator Pat McCarran, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, hopes for action by the Senate on this measure during the present session. A companion bill has been introduced in the House by Representative Walter, of Pennsylvania, and has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee. The House bill is considered more liberal than the Senate measure in many respects and may have a better chance of final adoption than the McCarran bill. However, since immigration and naturalization questions are highly controversial in character, prospects for any legislation of this type are not too bright in an election year.

Liquor Advertising

A bill to "prohibit the broadcasting over radio and television of advertisements of distilled spirits for beverage purposes" has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado, for himself and Senator Francis Case, of South Dakota. Hearings on the measure opened on January 30. A more general bill on this subject was turned down by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the 81st Congress, after hearings had been held on it.

How to Win the U.S. Senate

(Continued from page 17)

11. Glorify the days when we had no entangling alliances. This proves you are a "sound fellow, longing for the happy sunlit past."

12. Stay out of the Far East. If you go there, you will be expected to have views on it and somebody is bound to disagree with any views you have. Ignorance about it, however, is no disqualification.

13. If possible, have at least one reformed Communist testify on your behalf, preferably Louis Budenz, former editor of *The Daily Worker*.

14. Never accept any invitation to any off-the-record meeting at the State Department without finding out first whether Harold Stassen is to be there.

THIS set of rules is not, of course, guaranteed. Many other rules apply simultaneously, and all are subject to change without notice. For example, the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee voted down Dr. Jessup and voted in favor of Ambassador Warren Austin.

Both ambassadors have been associated with the Administration's Far Eastern policy. In fact, Ambassador Austin voted for the resolution in the United Nations, under which the United States agreed that if a cease-fire were arranged in Korea, the United States would discuss with the Chinese Communists such questions as the future of Formosa and whether the Communists should get into the United Nations.

Two rules apply in this case, however, that are not listed above. These are that

Senate confirmation is much more certain if the nominee is (a) a former Senator, and/or (b) a Republican.

The first rule, however, is the important one, namely, that one must be sure to be for the things that are going to be popular six years from now.

For example, a man who opposed recognition of the U.S.S.R. throughout the '30's is in clover.

Nevertheless, one cannot vouch even for those potential nominees who have the gift of prophecy, and the rules listed here must be regarded merely as policy guidance. Not even a former Republican Senatorial prophet, without ideas or previous connection, can be sure of confirmation in the present state of affairs in Washington.

All the foregoing is merely unofficial advice, put forward in accordance with the terms of the following story, now current in the Capitol.

According to this story, an improvident grasshopper who made no plans for the winter went to an ant and asked him how he should live through the cold winter. The ant replied that the grasshopper should merely turn himself into a cockroach every October when the frost came, find himself a warm spot behind a radiator in some good kitchen, live there until spring, and then turn himself back into a grasshopper.

This scheme overjoyed the grasshopper until, at the end of the conversation, he inquired,

"But tell me, how do I turn myself into a cockroach?"

"I'm sorry, I don't know about that," replied the ant. "I was merely giving you policy guidance."

According to *Tide* magazine, the nation's fifteen million Negroes have an aggregate income of \$15 billion. Their purchasing power exceeds the value of all the goods exported from the United States. While American business spends huge sums to pursue foreign markets, the Negro market is as big as that of Belgium, Greece, or Australia—and it is right here at home. Wide-awake employers are hiring Negro salesmen, clerks, production workers, stenographers, truckers, and other workers. As a result in many cases they are greatly increasing their sales.

About Books

The Wall of Separation Between Church and State, by Conrad H. Moehlman. The Beacon Press, Inc. \$3.00.

The Beacon Press is rendering a signal service to the nation in publishing "The Beacon Studies in Freedom and Power," of which the best-known is Paul Blanchard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. This latest study in the series has been written out of a lifetime of study in the field of the history of Christianity. Dr. Moehlman has steeped himself for many years in the history of the conflict of the papacy with the forces of democracy. This volume builds up a solid case for the absolute separation of Church and State in the political structure of the government of the U.S.A.

The tone of the book is quiet and restrained. Dr. Moehlman writes as one who knows he has a strong case. One could wish that the style of the book had been more flowing and colorful. On the other hand, the almost continuous stream of quotations is one of the most valuable features of the book, for Dr. Moehlman has assembled for his readers the accumulating body of opinion from state papers and court decisions, and the judgments of great jurists, upon which the case for the complete separation of Church and State has been built up. He likewise presents the authoritative deliverances of the papacy upon the subject, and the contrasting reasoning clarifies for the thoughtful reader the essentially irreconcilable character of the conflict between the papacy and the government of the U.S.A.

It should be noted that Dr. Moehlman presents also the utterances of Roman Catholics in favor of the complete separation of Church and State in the U.S.A.,

and it is instructive to read that the Roman Catholic Church in every case voices its displeasure at these "liberal" thinkers in no uncertain terms. The case of Alfred E. Smith's election manifesto is particularly enlightening. Mr. Smith came out squarely for the absolute separation of Church and State. The Roman Catholic magazine *America* gravely remarked that "the statement as it stands is gravely erroneous." This volume gives conclusive evidence of the sleepless determination of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to achieve spiritual domination in the U.S.A. Complacent Protestants should read it!

—Walter Barlow

Occupational Outlook Handbook, prepared by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, in cooperation with the Veterans Administration. Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C. \$3.50.

Improvement and expansion of vocational guidance and counseling services, "to serve the interests of young people and to promote the over-all development and efficient utilization of our human resources," were advocated by the Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth in its platform. A valuable new resource for this purpose is now available in the handbook.

Designed for use in high schools, colleges, libraries, and community guidance services, it will be used by the Veterans Administration and by all other Federal agencies providing counseling services. Copies have already been distributed to all State Employment Service administrative offices.

The 575-page volume, profusely illustrated with photographs and charts, re-

ports on the present situation and future prospects in 433 occupations by which Americans earn their living. Of particular interest is the attention given to the effects of mobilization, as this is one of the major concerns of the National Mid-century Committee for Children and Youth.

The Life We Prize, by Elton Trueblood. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. \$2.50.

Those who have read Dr. Trueblood's previous books know that whatever he writes is readable, stimulating, and quotable. His latest book, somewhat more ambitious in length than his earlier ones, is no exception. Written for the most part in Charney Manor, said to be the oldest inhabited house in England, it looks objectively from this background of the centuries at the predicament of modern man, assumes that "we are destined to live the remainder of our lives in tension and turmoil," concludes that we of the West have no clearly defined ideal of life to set over against the Stalinist system which we reject, and seeks to describe the kind of life men ought to live.

The author holds that "the life we prize is seriously threatened, not primarily by any probability of attack from a foreign power, but by the battle of ideas within our own Western society. This is the major battle of our time and it is one particularly easy to lose."

One characteristic of this book is that its chapters do not represent any obvious progression of thought, so that they appear at first glance to be a series of essays on various themes, each a complete and satisfying discussion in itself. At the conclusion, however, one feels that the book has indeed marched and that each chapter has made its contribution to our conception of the moral structure of the life that alone can give meaning to human experience.

In a sense, this book is written for

Americans, but it is applicable for the most part to the life of Western man. Trueblood points out the amazing paradox that the United States, which has been the decisive factor in two world wars in freeing oppressed people, and has poured out its wealth in food, relief, Marshall Plan aid, and foreign missions, is regarded in many parts of the world as the oppressor. We are paying for the accumulated sins of Western man over the whole period of modern history. Therefore, we must redefine the great values of our American life in terms that are clear and convincing. To this task the ten chapters of Dr. Trueblood's thoughtful book are addressed.

The Life We Prize will strengthen the faith of all who believe that the gospel of Christ is related to the whole of life and that it alone can give satisfactory meaning to the human struggle.

—Paul C. Warren

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An Open Letter to Church Members Who Drink

Dear Fellow Church Member:

This is a letter that I never expected to write. Not until recently was the fact driven home to me that this letter had to be written. It has been prompted by conversations with hundreds of pastors and laymen during the past twelve months.

My conscience became uneasy during Lent, 1951. I realized that I had had unusual opportunities to know the alcohol problem at firsthand, and I was doing very little to help solve it. I volunteered to do some speaking in the churches of Pennsylvania. The offer was accepted and I have been in a dozen different denominations Sunday after Sunday for a whole year.

One observation adds up to this: *Social drinking is rapidly increasing among church members in several denominations.* To a man the pastors lament this fact. They say that it is doing something to the church members who drink. Either it neutralizes their witness as Christians, or it makes them complacent about the alcohol problem. They seem to take the position that the alcohol problem exists only when excessive drinking is practiced, and conclude that there would be no alcohol problem if moderation were practiced.

I believe there is unintentional fallacy in this argument. If moderation were the cure for the alcohol problem, there would not be five million problem drinkers, including nearly four million alcoholics. These hapless people would like to drink moderately, but they have to have more than good advice to be moderate before they can stand on their feet again.

Another observation alarms me: *The majority of drinking church members are unaware of the nature of alcohol.* The active chemical in every alcoholic beverage is ethyl alcohol. A bottle of beer, a glass of wine, a shot of whisky contain approximately the same amounts of alcohol. This chemical is not digested but goes directly from the stomach and intestines into the blood stream. Quickly it is pumped through the heart to the brain where it has a peculiar chemical reaction on brain tissue. Once alcohol is in the blood,

no act of the will can prevent it from acting on the brain and other bodily organs. No human being can prevent himself from getting drunk if enough alcohol gets into the blood. Neither can he prevent alcohol from taking the brakes off his judgment first and motor controls next. Alcohol is no respecter of persons. It treats church members exactly like nonchurch members when it gets into their blood.

I do wish that church members would read up on alcohol. I commend to them a pamphlet written by my friend Clifford Earle, *Alcohol and People*. But if you pass that one up, get hold of a little picture book called *Ethyl Is Not a Lady*, also written by Mr. Earle.

Bear with me while I make one more observation: *Those engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages are definitely gunning for church members.* They know who drinks and who doesn't. They know that there are 35,000,000 of drinking age who never touch a drop from January 1 to December 31 (including New Year's Eve). That is too big a potential market to ignore, and they are willing to spend tens of millions of dollars annually for newspaper and magazine ads, for radio and television, to capture these nondrinkers.

The drinking church member greatly heartens the liquor interests. They know that the church member who drinks will not interfere too much with their business outside the churches. They know that he will write few letters to legislators whom they are anxious to control. They can count on his taking a negative or a neutral attitude toward liquor legislation in general.

The liquor interests warn drinkers to avoid excess, but they give them no aid in practice. They claim to be a friend of the alcoholic, but his help, if it comes soon enough, is the friendly hand of the Church and of Alcoholics Anonymous.

The liquor interests "deplore" drinking among young people, yet they beam their ads to make drinking so attractive that young people will risk breaking the law to obtain this drink that makes so many "men of distinction."

Probably that's enough to say in one letter. Thank you for reading it. Write me your reactions, whether you agree or not. These are my convictions. If I'm in error, I want to be set right.

I believe, and I know you believe, that every one of us church members has a witness to make for Christ. My concern is that our witness be from a clear brain and a pure heart.

Respectfully yours,

Earl F. Zeigler, Editor of Today,

Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

HOW TO TELL AN ALCOHOLIC

By CLIFFORD EARLE.

IT USUALLY is not easy to recognize an alcoholic. One can spot a drunk in the advanced stages of alcoholism readily enough, but the earlier stages of the affliction often escape detection. The preliminary and early symptoms are sometimes unnoticed in a person who is crossing over from uncomplicated drinking to alcoholism, even by his friends and members of his family. Not everyone who drinks heavily is an alcoholic. Some persons drink to excess because of stupidity or foolishness, or because they think it is the smart thing to do. Whatever the reason, these people can stop drinking if they want to.

An alcoholic may be described as a person with an unmanageable craving for alcohol. The outstanding criterion of the disorder is his inability, without help, to achieve permanent sobriety. He may wish to stop drinking, but he is obsessed with an unconquerable fear that without alcohol life would be impossibly difficult.

A major characteristic of alcohol addiction is the loss of control in the drinking situation. In time the alcoholic's ability to manage his drinking disappears completely. So long as he

stays away from alcohol he has no difficulty, but when he begins to drink he is unable to limit himself to a moderate amount. For the time being, alcohol becomes the most important thing in his life. A spree of a day or a week or a month of uncontrolled drinking follows, and after that the hang-over.

A second important characteristic of alcoholism is the progressive nature of the disorder. The symptoms are graded. They increase in severity from stage to stage. The affliction begins as a hardly noticeable deviation from customary drinking. In time a series of more obvious and increasingly objectionable features of the disorder make their appearance. Then follow years of progressive deterioration that involves every aspect of the victim's life. The end is either death or insanity unless somewhere along the line the affliction is treated and arrested.

A third characteristic of alcohol addiction has to do with the motivation for drinking. The alcoholic drinks because he likes what alcohol does for him. He finds that it makes life seem simpler and easier, and he uses it for that purpose. Alcohol gives him immediate though temporary relief from the burden of his problems but really makes life more difficult.

This is a chapter from the book How to Help an Alcoholic, by Clifford Earle, copyright by The Westminster Press, 1952. It is reprinted with permission. Mr. Earle is Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

He ignores all this, however, as he seeks through alcohol to ease his discomfort and tension. He may not like liquor—many alcoholics don't—but he thinks he needs it in order to live.

CERTAIN telltale symptoms in the realm of drinking behavior are sometimes useful in helping one to tell whether or not a person under observation is an alcoholic.

One indicator is the "blackout," described as temporary amnesia related to a period of intoxication. Experiencing a "blackout" is not to be confused with "passing out." A person has a "blackout" when, for example, he wakes up in the morning after a party and cannot recall where he has been or what he has done after the first few drinks. At the time, of course, neither he nor those around him are aware of anything unusual. Only later does the victim of the "blackout" realize that he has "drawn a blank." "Blackouts" are not limited to alcoholics. Even a moderate drinker who gets drunk only once in his life may experience a "blackout" on that occasion. Among alcoholics, however, "blackouts" are an almost universal occurrence. Usually they begin to happen in the very early stages of alcohol addiction. In the later stages they are often a frequent occurrence. Since a "blackout" is really a reaction to intoxication, it should not be regarded as evidence of alcoholism, but rather as a danger signal or a possible symptom.

By many little signs a potential alcoholic will reveal to an informed observer that he is beginning to lose control of his drinking. He may promise his wife that he will limit himself to two drinks in an evening, but by means of various subterfuges and excuses he will manage to have many more. He may take several quick drinks in the kitchen on the sly while pouring refreshments for guests. He may start drinking before the guests arrive and keep well ahead of everyone else in the consumption of alcohol during the evening. He may create a scene in order to have a reason for drinking more than he planned or promised to drink. However he manages it, when a person in a drinking situation intends to take a couple and winds up cockeyed, and does that persistently, he has crossed over into the early phase of alcoholism.

IN THE early stages of addiction, alcoholics generally make several real and sincere efforts to bring their drinking under control. A familiar technique, tried by a great majority of alcohol's victims, is "going on the water wagon." Sometimes the "water wagon" represents an attempt to stop drinking entirely. Usually, however, the alcoholic has in mind a limited period of time during which he tries not to drink. After a frightening "blackout," for example, he may venture "to lay off liquor for a couple of months" or "to quit drinking until

Christmas." The "water wagon" and other forms of drinking control attempted by an alcoholic reveal that he is beginning to realize that his drinking is getting to be a problem. "Going on the wagon" is not to be regarded as a symptom of alcoholism, but rather as a clue to what is going on in the mind of a person under observation.

The "morning drink" as a regular occurrence reveals usually that a person has lost control not only in the drinking situation but also over the occasions for drinking. Upon waking in the morning an alcoholic may experience some hang-over effects from yesterday's drinking—nervousness, tremor, nausea, remorse, depression. These he must quickly anesthetize with alcohol if he is to be in shape for the day. So the "morning drink" becomes for him a necessity. And more, it proves to the alcoholic that he needs alcohol to be normal. Many students of the alcohol problem regard the "morning drink" as one of the cardinal signs of alcoholism. It is a symptom appearing in the drinking behavior of nearly all alcoholics.

A "BENDER" is described as "staying drunk for more than a day without regard for your work or your family or anything else." Occasionally a nonalcoholic heavy drinker may go on a "bender" as his way of reacting to a crisis or a disappointment. Periodic "benders," however, are a drinking behavior that is usu-

ally identified with alcoholism. They appear as a somewhat advanced symptom on the drinking histories of a large majority of alcoholics. They may happen at irregular intervals, ranging from a few weeks to several months. As the affliction progresses, drinking sprees are likely to occur more frequently, to last longer, and to increase in severity. Periodic "benders" are regarded by many authorities as a major manifestation of the middle phase of alcoholism, intermediate between a primary phase characterized by loss of control, and a more advanced phase in which the alcoholic drinks to live and lives to drink.

Two other manifestations of an alcoholic's condition often appear to members of his family and to others in a position to observe him closely.

First, a genuine alcoholic is usually worried about his drinking. This distinguishes him from the average heavy drinker who deliberately uses alcohol in excessive amounts and likes what happens to him. The alcohol addict drinks because he craves alcohol, and is not pleased when his drinking leads to a variety of difficulties. He cannot help noticing that he is different from his friends in the way he needs and uses alcohol. He knows that something is wrong. He insists that he is all right, but really he is worried. His anxiety often leads him to try to limit or control his drinking. He may decide, for example, to drink only before dinner. Or

he may switch from one type of alcoholic beverage to another. Or he may temporarily "go on the wagon."

Secondly, his drinking in time interferes with his eating. This happens because the alcoholic is more interested in alcohol than in food. Moreover, heavy drinking may affect the taste buds so that all food "tastes like hay." His appetite all but disappears, because alcohol, with its high caloric content, satisfies most of the immediate energy requirements of the body. The failure of the alcoholic to eat right deprives the body of many foods that are essential to health—vitamins, carbohydrates, fats, proteins, certain minerals. In time these lacks result in actual body damage. The aging process is accelerated. Many of the physical and nervous disorders associated with chronic alcoholism, even cirrhosis of the liver and delirium tremens, are now suspected to be nutritional deficiency diseases.

Sometimes an identifying feature of alcoholism is the way it causes trouble. Excessive drinking of the kind an alcoholic does is bound to produce a persistent and growing problem in one or more areas of his life.

MOST often affected, and often most seriously, is the home life of the alcoholic. His unpredictable and usually inconvenient behavior while under the influence of liquor places a heavy strain upon family

ties. Domestic life is sometimes reduced to a succession of quarrels and scenes which drive the offender into either angry resentment or anguished remorse. It is not remarkable that alcoholism is an important factor in the breaking up of many homes and families.

MONEY trouble is a familiar alcoholic complication. The cost of liquor is such that a heavy drinker often spends as much as a hundred dollars a month for his beverages. If he is not an alcoholic, the chances are that he will spend only as much as he can afford. If he is an alcoholic, however, he will get his liquor even though he cannot afford it. In time his drinking will have an adverse effect upon his income, producing further financial complications. Savings are spent, insurance premiums go unpaid, jewelry and clothing are pawned, living standards go down, all because alcohol has become for its victim the most important thing in life.

Persistent and deepening problems may appear also in the social life of the alcoholic when he offends and loses his friends, in his business or professional life when he becomes erratic and inefficient in handling his work and finally loses his job, and in his personal life with the disintegration of his health.

Any one of these sets of problems would be enough to cause an average person to limit or stop his use of al-

coholic beverages. For him the solution is logical and not too difficult. An alcoholic, however, may see with equal clarity that in order to straighten out his life he must cut down or cut out his drinking, but he will fail to do so because he cannot do it without help. He will keep on drinking even though he knows that his drinking causes a continuing and deepening problem.

We have suggested here some of the cardinal signs of alcoholism—the essential characteristics of the ailment, several giveaway symptoms in the realm of drinking behavior, certain manifestations that may be observed by someone very close to the alcoholic, and evidence related to the problems caused by continued excessive drinking.

These signs are useful in helping one to decide whether a person under observation is or is not an alcoholic. A decision in this matter is impor-

tant, for upon it depends the kind of help that is offered to the one whose drinking is causing trouble.

RELATIVES and close friends of a person who is suspected on good grounds of being an alcoholic should be advised of the fact in order that they may not be unfair in judging him or unwise in dealing with him. They should understand that alcoholism is an ailment, and that an alcoholic should be treated with full regard for his illness.

It should be recognized always that a layman's diagnosis of alcoholism has its dangers and limitations. Wherever possible, the counsel of experts should be sought.

As long as people use alcoholic beverages there will be men and women whose drinking gets them into trouble. There will be those who become problems to themselves and to others through alcohol.

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Six new United Nations filmstrips that are really tops are now available from the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc., Text-Film Department, 330 W. 42d Street, New York 18, N. Y. \$3.00 for an individual strip; \$2.00 for 3 or more titles:

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Place your order now for your special meetings.

THEY'RE DRIVING US TO DRINK

The brewer's big horses are trotting again.

Through the medium of the air waves they are trotting right into our living rooms TV style.

And they're lovely horses—powerful of frame, beautiful of form, a delight to every lover of fine animals.

And that's the idea. Through the power of association the brewers hope to make us love their product.

Love my horses; love my beer.

What are the brewers up to? Simply this: They are driving us to drink what they have to sell.

Their driving is social pressure.

For a long time it has been legal to make and sell beer; it has also been legal to advertise it. The TV sets in millions of American homes are a ready-made road for us to ride with the brewer's horses.

We are not trying to have a little fun at the expense of the brewers. They are serious in what they are doing. We're trying to be serious in what we are saying.

The millions of dollars that are being spent by the brewers in advertising is part of a planned campaign. They had the idea of "Planned Education" years before the Presbyterians thought theirs up.

We have before us a copy of the Proceedings of the United States Brewers Foundation. These are the minutes and reports of one of their annual meetings held in a large hotel. In size the bound volume compares favorably with the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.* For the brewers these Proceedings give a summary of their committee reports and recommendations; the names of member organizations; a necrology; and their strategy to make America beer conscious.

The Proceedings are copyrighted, and we are assuming that it would be a little brash on our part to ask for permission to quote. However, without violating any ethics of publishers, we can report some of the things that were done and said at their meeting.

One of the most interesting items in the Proceedings is the discussion about how to establish the brewing industry on a higher plane. They sounded almost like a presbytery discussing how to get better men for the ministry. Their conclusions were that men of character are the key to a better brew-

ing industry. The men who sell and distribute beer must be of such caliber that they will be welcomed into Red Cross and community drives; into membership in the churches; into luncheon clubs.

That's that.

Another section of the Proceedings describes what must be done to sell more beer. The profound discovery was made that Americans are not the greatest beer drinkers in the world per capita. This was a challenge. It must not go by default. Beer, of course, must remain the drink of moderation. But more beer must be sold—and consumed.

Somebody came up with the revolutionary proposal that people must not be induced to drink more beer—that would lead to immoderation; but more people must be educated to drink beer, and while learning to drink to believe that it was an acceptable beverage.

From then on the way looked rosy. All that was necessary was to make beer available everywhere—in taverns, delicatessens, hotels, restaurants—and one man proposed that it might be a smart thing to induce some reputable automobile distributor to add beer distribution to his business.

They're driving us to drink.

Advertising obviously required careful thinking and planning. The brewers had been burned several times when their advertising backfired. The Proceedings describe the amounts of money that have been spent in the past, and some projections for the future. If the Presbyterian Church had as much faith in the future of its business as the brewers have in theirs, our Capital Funds Drive would be oversubscribed in a month.

Advertising must be in good taste, but it must sell beer. Magazines and newspapers, radio and television, are to be used extravagantly. These are their media of planned education. American families all over the nation must be told until they believe it that the brewing industry has an honorable and necessary place in our way of life.

The magazine came in for special emphasis. Magazines are believed to be read by educated people—the very kind who are the thought leaders of the nation, and whose votes influence legislation.

Legislation used to be a scare word among the brewers. Not so any more. They believe that planned education will produce a climate in which their kind of legislation will flourish. Aren't they paying huge taxes? Aren't they employing thousands of people? Aren't scores of manufacturing plants dependent for their prosperity upon the brewing industry?

Why fear legislation?

Will America kill the goose that lays the golden egg?

THE CHURCH ON CAPITOL HILL

By ROBERT S. STEEN, D. D., *Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Warren, Pennsylvania; member of the Counseling Committee of the Division of Social Education and Action.*

ONE of the liveliest items on the agenda of any General Assembly is likely to be the report of its Committee on Social Education and Action. Here, through the democratic process, the Church seeks to place the Christian ethic in juxtaposition to the contemporary situation. Over against what man is doing, it says, in effect, "This is what Christ would have us be and do." When the General Assembly, after prayerful deliberation, has thus spoken, its pronouncements are recorded in the minutes of the Assembly.

There are those unkind enough to intimate that all too frequently the pronouncements are embalmed in the minutes; that we are "long" on social education and "short" on social action. Here is a brief account of one attempt to translate the voice of the Presbyterian Church into social action.

On January 24, Rev. Clifford Earle, Secretary of the Division of Social Education and Action, Rev. Jay Warren Kaufman, pastor of Coltenbrook Church, Philadelphia Presbytery, and I went to Washington. Our Presbyterian Church had been invited to have a spokesman interpret the Assembly's voice in the very crit-

ical issue of universal military training before the House Armed Services Committee. Mr. Kaufman had been chosen as spokesman, not alone for his personal gifts, which are many, but also because his experience as a lieutenant colonel in the infantry (not a chaplain) gave him a background few ministers possess.

Before the hearing began we visited the building that houses the offices of many Congressmen. There was activity everywhere. The representatives, it was evident, had begun another full day. Letters were being dictated; mail was being opened and read; constituents were being interviewed. One novice in the legislative halls was impressed by the evident pressure under which these men and women worked and the importance of their decisions.

CHAIRMAN VINSON opened the hearing at the scheduled hour. Since evidence had previously been taken in favor of universal military training, the Committee was now hearing those who opposed it. The A. F. L. and the C. I. O. as well as a number of church groups testified before the representative of the Presbyterian Church was called.

When Mr. Kaufman took the floor, he identified himself as a Presbyterian minister and, in a word, explained how the commissioners of our General Assembly are chosen and how its social pronouncements are made. With this as a background he interpreted the Church's consistent opposition to universal military training by confining himself to the words of successive General Assemblies.

MR. KAUFMAN's testimony was firm, but not belligerent, and, perhaps because of his military background, one sensed a sympathetic and friendly audience in the legislators. This did not mean, however, that the Committee of the House shared the point of view of the Presbyterian Church on UMT. The chairman, Mr. Vinson, it appeared, had already arrived at his decision. He was for universal military training because he saw it as the only alternative to a large standing army. With him it was clearly a case of "either-or." There were others like Dewey Short who, by the nature of their questions, one felt to be friendly to the Church's conviction.

Mr. Kaufman's testimony and comments about the possibility of using better organized Reserve units instead of UMT for the defense of our country evoked a good deal of discussion among members of the Committee. Chairman Vinson did not discuss our Church's witness with the

usual perfunctory politeness. He tried hard to win him to his ideas that UMT was justified.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Kaufman asked that the pronouncements of our General Assemblies over the past five years on the matter at issue become a part of the record. This was granted and Chairman Vinson expressed the appreciation of the House Committee for Mr. Kaufman's appearance and testimony.

The Church had tried social action but as we left the building it was with the feeling that the issue was still gravely in doubt. Nothing in the atmosphere warranted optimism. Subsequent events confirmed this view when it was reported that the House Armed Services Committee had voted 27 to 7 in favor of UMT. The Senate's comparable committee voted unanimously for the position the Church, as represented by its assemblies, opposed.

FOR one whose activities have not previously included a view of legislative procedures, a number of distinct impressions were implanted. There was, first of all, an awareness of the terrible responsibility that rests with the lawmakers. In other, and quieter, days members of Congress have had a wider margin for error. Now there is a grimness to their task, an awareness of the gravity of the hour. There should be in all our churches and homes prayer for the men and women charged with

such weighty decisions, and prayers should not be confined to the Sundays prior to Memorial Day and July Fourth.

These men on the Armed Services Committee to whom we entrusted grave decisions and responsibilities heard both sides of a highly controversial question. Then each had to commit himself to one side or the other with full awareness, I hope, of the possible consequences of his decision to our nation and to our world.

The second impression was that if the Christian Church is going to be a factor in the political life of the nation, it had better try, at the local level, to know its Congressmen better and to understand the difficult nature of their task. Too many of us have a tendency to oversimplification. Carl Sandburg as a young man felt the same temptation. Things were either all black or white, right or wrong. Later, however, when he was doing the tremendous research required for his biography of Lincoln, he made the discovery that there were situations where no man could say what was right or what was wrong. Confronted by this veritable maze where nothing was clearly black or white, "Lincoln," said Sandburg, "was true to the highest."

Congressmen, strangely enough, are human beings, which would suggest that they may be pardoned for

being less than enthusiastic about individuals, or organizations from whom they hear only in protest, or when something is desired. A letter of commendation, or appreciation, when the occasion warrants would undoubtedly create a greater sensitivity to the points of view cherished by the Church. Since such words are so rarely spoken—only one of the ten lepers who were healed returned to thank Christ—their impression is the deeper.

FINALLY, one was aware of the lack of cohesiveness in our Protestant approach to legislative matters. The difficulty is not that the highest judicatories of the several denominations are at odds or had remained silent about universal military training. They did speak, but one is haunted by the feeling that, in the main, their own constituents did not hear them clearly, much less win others to their position.

Was there not a Covenanter who, on the way to the gallows for his faith, predicted that the time was coming when ministers would "either sin much or suffer much"? Our day may call for no such heroism. We thank God that such "crude and cruel days" are far removed but in our souls we know this is no hour for cravens. Still with outstretched, pierced hands He implores, "Come, take up your cross and follow me."

See inside back cover for Summer Leadership Training suggestions!

DO I HAVE TO DRINK?

Excerpts from a topic in Volume 10 of The Youth Fellowship Kit to be published by The Westminster Press June 15, 1952, edited by REV. NEVIN E. KENDELL, Division of Home, Church, and Community, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

MOST of us don't like to be pushed around. We want to be free to make our own decisions and we resent rules and regulations that we think are unnecessary. But sometimes we are being pushed around without knowing. A good example is the matter of social drinking. Many Americans, and high school young people in particular, are under terrific pressure to drink. Some of us who resent other kinds of authority actually jump like trained seals when the crowd demands that we drink if we want to rate as regular guys and gals. Of course, no one wants to be a "sissy" or a prude. But, as we said at the beginning, no one likes to be pushed around either. So let's try to find out why the pressure to drink is so terrific, and see what we can do about it.

Pressure from Outside

Begin the meeting with a discussion of social pressure in general. Point out to the group that in the past social pressure has compelled people to do things that seem quite foolish to us.

It was not so long ago that femi-

nine dress distorted the lines of the human body into rather weird figures. Intelligent women endured metal stays that bound the waist into a design that was created by the custom of the nineties, and the twenties sought to establish the waist at the hip line.

We feel that we have found real progress in fashion, because, instead of trying to distort the human body, our clothing is cut for comfort and service.

Ask the group: What are some of the things we do because of the pressure of custom? Why is the pressure to conform so strong? Does this reveal something about us and our relation to the crowd? When we dress according to custom (even crazy custom) does this help us to feel a kind of "oneness" with other young people?

Pressure and Morals

Custom tells us what to wear, and generally that's not very serious. But custom also tells us, or tries to tell us, how to live, and the customs of the crowd may demand that we do some things that we believe are

wrong. We may be willing to wear a Civil War hat for a few weeks if the crowd demands, but what happens when the crowd begins to insist that we take a few drinks every time we go out? After raising the question in this way, ask the members: What are the customs among young people of our community in regard to drinking? Are young people perfectly free not to drink if they don't want to?

If the pressure to drink is strong, how can we resist the pressure? Should we simply stay away from those who drink? Skip all parties and social functions where there is drinking? Of course for a nondrinker there is no point in going to what is nothing more nor less than a drinking party. But should we try to avoid all contact with drinking? Should we scratch off of our list of friends any young person who drinks? Is there a danger that we nondrinkers may set ourselves apart as a group of righteous people who will have nothing to do with the "bad" people? Does this seem to be the Christian way?

If Tea, Why Not Coke?

In some circles there is strong prejudice against the person who does not drink. Why this scorn for the nondrinker? Some people are avid coffee drinkers, but they have no particular feeling about their friends who prefer tea. Why should the person who drinks alcoholic bev-

erages scorn the person who orders a Coke? Let the group discuss the question at some length. Later suggest that perhaps the person who drinks is not so sure of himself as he thinks; the nondrinker reminds him of his own feelings of guilt about his drinking. Perhaps when he tries to persuade the nondrinker that it is right to drink, he is really trying to persuade himself.

Some young people accept drinks at private homes because they don't want to be guilty of bad manners. Members of Alcoholics Anonymous who must continually fight the urge to drink feel especially strongly about this. Any host who has an ounce of decent manners will at least provide a choice and make it very easy for anyone to take nonalcoholic drinks.

That Man of Distinction

Not all the pressure to drink comes from the crowd at school or club. We read magazines and newspapers, listen to the radio, watch movies and television shows. All these are shaping in part our idea of the good life.

The liquor industry is big business, with a capital investment of more than \$6,000,000,000. Its gigantic resources are used continually to bombard the American public with propaganda in defense of itself and its products. It is estimated that the industry spent \$157,000,000 for advertising in 1947.

The leader should come prepared

to display some advertisements from recent newspapers and magazines so that the group can consider their possible effect upon public attitudes and drinking habits. The liquor industry claims that its advertising is not intended to persuade people to drink, but is strictly competitive: an effort to persuade people who already drink to use this brand instead of another. But other people argue that the primary effect of liquor advertising is to make drinking itself seem respectable and desirable.

Pressure from Within

The discussion so far may have given some members the impression that all the pressure to drink comes from outside ourselves. Some people may feel that they are good people living in an evil world, and that their only problem is to keep from being contaminated or influenced by other (and, of course, bad) people. As Christians we know better. We know that if we consider social drinking to be wrong, and still find it a strong temptation, we can't put all the blame on our friends or on magazine ads. Some of the pressure to drink must arise from our own faults and inadequacies.

Someone may ask what is to be done at a dull party when there is no alcohol to act as a social lubricant. Certainly there are such social affairs. When one woman was asked what she thought about social drinking, she said that she felt it was "the

thing to do" because we do not have enough sincere interest in one another to attempt a party without stimulants. Incidentally, she did not know her ABC's of alcohol, or she would have known that alcohol is not a stimulant but a depressant. Instead of sharpening one's wits it merely retards mental processes. In other words, alcohol merely fools a person. It deceives him into thinking he is being clever, witty, or even the life of the party.

Some young people say that they drink simply because it helps them to be more sociable at a party. After a few drinks the shy boy finds that he is perfectly at ease. The girl who lacks self-confidence discovers that a little alcohol seems to restore her self-confidence and she doesn't feel like a misfit at social occasions. The student who is tense before some exams finds that he can relax with a few drinks. Such personal problems seem to be solved by alcoholic beverages, and such people insist that social drinking is all right. What is wrong with this solution? Or is there anything wrong with it?

Are You Allergic to Yourself?

A person who uses some artificial means to be a different "person" must be allergic to himself. Getting drunk is an obvious way of escaping one's self. When a young man gets "tight" before a party, he is arranging things so that he will not have to be himself at the party.

Drinking is only a blundering effort to attain self-confidence which evades the real problem. Such drinking is really an indication of emotional immaturity. Everyone has been entrusted with a personality, and everything one does adds to or detracts from its development.

Ask the group: Are there any reasons why in modern life people may be more tempted than ever before to escape from themselves through drinking? What are some of the fears and tensions from which we may seek to escape? Do we have artificial standards of success that cause more and more people to regard themselves as failures?

The Christian Fellowship

The early Christians were banded together in a closely limited fellowship. They had one great possession in common—Christ the Lord. Within this fellowship men and women found new meaning for their lives. In Jesus Christ they had come to know the God to whom they belonged. They had seen demonstrated in his life how much God loved them and what he was willing to do for them.

Ask the group: In such a fellowship what is likely to happen to the person who has always been terribly shy? Would he overcome his shyness? Or might he remain shy and retiring, but just stop worrying about it? These questions should provoke some interesting discussion. It ought to be made clear that the man who

becomes a Christian does not necessarily become the kind of person who will be the life of the party, but it will no longer matter very much. When a man knows and takes seriously the fact of God's love for him, he no longer feels such a desperate need to get attention and be somebody. The man who knows he has been accepted by God, with all his faults, can accept himself and live with himself.

Authority for the Christian

And now what about the pressure from outside? What is wrong with the person who feels compelled to drink in order to meet the approval of his friends or the crowd? What, really, is the trouble with us when we are so desperately anxious to do just what the crowd says we must do? Such a person has lost his freedom. How does the Christian faith help us to recover our freedom? How should our faith enable us to stand up for what we believe is right, regardless of the crowd? How does God's love, shown to us in Jesus Christ, free us from the tyranny of the crowd?

The words that Paul wrote to early Christians who felt bound by the Jewish law apply equally to us who feel bound by the customs of the crowd:

"For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery."

—*Reprinted by permission of the author and The Westminster Press.*

PRESIDENT'S RULING ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS' SERVICE

THE long-awaited Selective Service regulations governing the two-year period of service by conscientious objectors were finally made official. This came about when the President signed an Executive Order, on Wednesday, February 20, 1952, which prescribed "a portion of the Selective Service regulation" pertaining to C.O.'s. Because of the words in the law "subject to such regulations as the President may prescribe," these regulations have the force of law. They were printed in the Federal Register as are all Executive Orders.

Even though the regulations have been formally issued, it may be weeks, or even months, before the program gets under way. Four or five forms, according to reports, must be drafted, printed, and distributed by National Selective Service to state and local officials. The regulations themselves must be printed and interpreted to local boards. Detailed directives and instructions must be sent to state and local units of the system. Furthermore, arrangements for procurement of job openings must be made by the National and State Directors.

Even after the program begins to

operate, it will probably take on momentum slowly. It is estimated that one year will elapse before it gets into full swing. During the second year of operation it will probably reach its optimum in terms of numbers of men ordered into work. During the third year, if the total draft operates at the current rate, it will probably "shake down" to a constant program to be maintained over a period of years. In other words, the backlog of C.O.'s who were deferred during the last several years will have been given work orders by the end of the second or third year of operation. In terms of a graph, the line representing C.O. "orders" will slope upward during the first year, will be level the second year, and will slope downward the third year.

Definition of Work

The work to be done by conscientious objectors shall be "civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest." This civilian work shall be limited to employment by the Government—Federal, state, or local—or by a nonprofit organization engaged in charitable, health, welfare, educational, or scientific activities.

The service shall not include work for co-operatives, according to a Selective Service interpretation. Private employment for profit-making organizations or businesses shall be excluded.

City, county, and state agencies such as mental hospitals, state training schools, tb hospitals, health projects, experimental stations, dairy testing associations, forestry and game conservation operations, flood control projects, soil conservation units, local Selective Service boards, churches, and others may submit job openings for C.O.'s to the State Director and National Director for their approval.

Church and other private non-profit organizations will be allowed to submit to Selective Service descriptions of work openings in which C.O.'s may serve for two years, in lieu of induction, with the churches or other nonprofit organizations in relief, humanitarian, and other service types of work. Some churches are awaiting final directives on the operations of the total C.O. program before deciding if they will employ men in I-W. It is possible that a portion of men may work overseas with the American Friends Service Committee, the Congregational-Christian Service Committee, and other agencies.

C.O.'S May Volunteer

Any conscientious objector within the age range of the draft may volun-

teer his services at any time. If not classified at the time of volunteering, he shall be classified at once by the local board. If found acceptable, he shall be assigned to service as soon as a job is available.

A conscientious objector will be given opportunity to submit to the local board three types of work in which he is interested. If none of these is acceptable to the board, it in turn will submit to the C.O. three types of work. If none of these is acceptable to the C.O. registrant, the State Director or his representative will meet with the registrant and the local board to try to find agreement on a job. If this method still does not succeed, the matter shall be brought to the attention of the National Selective Service Director before a work order is issued by the local board.

There is unanimous opinion among Selective Service officials that I-W registrants shall receive pay at the prevailing rate of the vocation in which they are serving. They want to avoid the charge of administering "slave labor" and "involuntary servitude," a frequent criticism of World War II. C.O.'s are also to receive accident and other benefits.

A C.O. registrant is to be sent away from his home community except that, in special cases, the local board may order the C.O. to work in his home community when to do so would be in the national interest.

Meals, lodging, and travel will be provided to the registrant from his

home to the place of employment, or the place of delivery to a private agency; they will also be provided when transfers are necessary, and when the man returns home after two years of service.

Transfer and Release Provisions

When employment for a C.O. ceases because of circumstances beyond his control, he shall be transferred elsewhere to the same type of work. This will not be regarded as a break in the continuity of his service.

The National Director may release a registrant for physical or mental incapacity or for undue hardship to a dependent.

If a registrant fails to obey the work order of a local board, or if he fails to perform satisfactorily his duties after being on the job, the National Director in Washington will determine if he is to be reported to the Department of Justice for prosecution. This will be done after a study of the file by the National office.

State Directors Administer Program

When a man receives a work order from the local board he will be placed in class I-W. The State Director of the state in which he is working will hold his file and supervise his work. If a C.O. is assigned to work outside the United States or its territories, the file will be held by the National Headquarters which will supervise the work. Most objectors

will be given work in this country.

There will be no Civilian Public Service as known in World War II, although some types of work, such as that in mental hospitals, may be similar. The House-Senate Conference Report of June, 1951, said there shall be "no national work camps."

State Directors will play a large part in the administration of the program. Many of them have already appointed staff personnel to work on the program. Pennsylvania has probably taken the lead thus far in planning its C.O. program.

State Advisory Committees, composed of peace and church agency representatives within a given state, will probably be formed for the purpose of working on behalf of the rights of C.O.'s within the state.

After a C.O. registrant completes his service his file shall be returned to the local board where it shall be marked I-W-R (released) until such time when he attains an age greater than the age of liability.

There are now about 8,000 men in I-O. It is estimated by the Government that 3,000 of these will be "screened out," some receiving IV-F after taking the physical, others receiving II-C, III-A, and other deferred classifications. Thus 5,000 jobs for the present "backlog" of I-O registrants will be sought by Selective Service.

—*Reprinted from The Reporter for Conscience' Sake, January-February, 1952.*

ALCOHOL—HOW DOES YOUTH DECIDE?

By CLYDE M. ALLISON, formerly editor of the Youth Fellowship Kit and Counsel, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

TWO young people I know were brought together in a social group—a boy and a girl in their early twenties, both active in their churches. They were attracted to each other, and they dated. In many ways they shared a common perspective on life. Only one major difference—and because of it their short courtship was shattered. He had come from a home where the use of alcoholic beverage was accepted as normal and natural. A drink was a part of sociability. She was from a home and a church where it was taught that no Christian would ever drink. So came the time when drinks were brought out. She refused and was hurt that he should indulge. He felt it ungracious of her to refuse to share a “sociable glass.”

From his point of view it was absurd for her to bring conscience and Christianity into it. He had practically grown up in the church and with drinks within reach. She felt, to say the least, that he had been ungracious in his insistence—that simple courtesy demanded respect for her conscience. They separated with bitter feeling. He was irritated by her

conscience. She, while irritated with him, began to wonder and doubt about that conscience of hers which had increased her loneliness.

The irritations, doubts, and fears of this type of relationship are not at all uncommon with young people of the Church—and there is usually lack of understanding either way. Most of us, when we find ourselves in a group that we like, want to conform. If ours is a conscience that keeps us on the outside, we begin to wonder and doubt if that conscience is really good—particularly if those on the inside are just about as we are. Regarding drink, it may be said that in the United States there are two worlds. There are those who stand between the two, who either drink or do not drink and have no conscience or feeling either way. But on either side there is a world intolerant of the other. On one side drink is considered sin; on the other drink is mixed with nearly all phases of social life.

IF IT were possible to separate one group from the other, the problem of guiding young people to one world

or the other would be far simpler. But the plain fact is that such a division cannot be made. In each group there are the same kind of people—good and bad. Drinkers or non-drinkers may be deeply devout, respectable, idealistic, highly ethical, social reformers, reactionary, shrewd, gangsters. When a temperance publication listed as famous total abstainers Abraham Lincoln, Robert E. Lee, William Jennings Bryan, John J. Pershing, and the like, a critic retorted by listing equally famous total abstainers Al Capone, Mayor Hague, Adolph Hitler, Benito Mussolini.

MOST of the young people of the Church are not so sheltered as their parents. They live with pressures that many adults do not feel and to which their parents may be insensitive. Adults are apt to get into a social circle or routine of life and stay there—comparatively speaking. But young people—on the go and in flux—know the pressures of varying groups and changing conditions. In motion, as they are, the pressures are felt most acutely to adapt, shift, and change with the changes of their associates as they move from group to group. This is so at all times, but more so now in a time of changing norms—even more complicated by the devastation of military life and war.

Therefore it is the more important that we should understand that ex-

cessive drinking—always on the increase in times of insecurity—is not merely a matter of the contents of the glass, but goes far deeper and is related to the core of life itself. Because this is so, a positive rather than negative approach is called for—one that is geared to life, not merely to taboos.

For instance, I read the other day, that one of the plans for universal military training is to make it impossible for the eighteen-years-olds to drink by giving them insignia or uniforms that differ from the “adult” Army. I can hardly think of anything worse than this approach. Can you imagine anything so inconsistent as these regulations for the eighteen-year-old trainees—old enough to bear arms for their country, to fight and die, but sheltered as “mamma’s boys” and denied the privilege of using their own judgment! It would not work out anyway, and would lead many straight to alcoholic excess—making drink emotionally desirable as a sign of maturity and adulthood. Yet many church people will probably approve of this type of restriction. How often we try to shelter rather than undergird our youth! When we do so, we tell them, “We do not trust you.” Nothing is more demoralizing. As we require our youth to bear the burden of our security, so we must give them our confidence and respect—and try to understand even if they come out of it with a different perspective from that

which they had when they went in. What else could we expect?

THE climate of America is highly alcoholic. It is one of our most serious forms of sickness. When we get to this state it becomes more and more difficult for us to relax in normal and natural ways. The more the anxieties and tensions that beset us the more this is so. When Hitler started his psychological warfare against the Lowlands, heavy drinking took a sharp jump. So here, when there is insecurity and demoralization in the land, we become more alcoholic in personality even if we drink not at all. And our young people are growing up in this atmosphere, which means that for youth as well as for ourselves, the Church must be more creative in opening the way to depth and stability in life if we are to deal at all with the increasing liquor problem in America.

TO DEAL with this problem creatively we should have a sort of sixth sense to feel—and even identify ourselves with—the causes of alcoholism before we try to effect a cure. Alcoholics Anonymous has been most successful in helping the alcoholic personality. For one reason, they know it firsthand. Here there is not enough room to go into their complete philosophy, yet there is a side of it that would seem to apply firsthand in helping our young people from the beginning. Before the al-

coholic is to be helped he must be willing to face his own life honestly. He realizes that drink has mastery over him. Therefore he cannot drink. That is basic. But he does not strain. In his attitude toward alcohol there is a saying "easy does it." He leaves alcohol alone, but he does not fight the world in order to keep dry.

This approach would seem to be sound for our young people who are under pressure to drink but who have a conscience to say "no." "Easy does it." It is necessary for every Christian to make up his own mind as to what he will or will not do. But let the decision be natural and not forced. Let it be without the complications of self-righteousness which always disturb both the self-righteous one and the one to whom he points the finger of guilt. Let the decision be casual, the more easily accepted without moralization. In many groups the pressures to drink are very strong—particularly when drinking becomes so much a part of the social life as it is in many places. If we can face the problem less intensely than most of us do, it will be easier to make responsible decisions and to follow those decisions without disturbance.

But a firm foundation is required to build an "easy does it" approach. Surely a basic mission of the Church is to give a firm foundation to life. If society has no sense of direction and leaves nothing but a vacuum, the Church ought not to be so.

THE other day I was reading a critical account of the Korean war by a correspondent for a British periodical. After pointing out that the war in Korea should teach us how utterly impossible it is for modern war to be used as an instrument of policy, he said: "I am not a pacifist: in war I have seen thousands of men at their best, and have been perhaps at my best myself. It has been the only period in my life when my services have been required." Here is, unintentionally, a statement on the emptiness of modern life as it appears to many thousands of our youth. They are counting time until the Army takes them up to tell them that their services are required by their country. After that period of service for their country, all that seems to loom ahead is the hectic chase after the almighty dollar. Here is the vacuum that sees nothing of genuine value and importance in life itself. And it is easy, and for many it seems to be the only thing to do—to fill that empty bottle with alcohol so it will not seem quite so empty as it was.

As we confront this emptiness, we are likely to make the worst of it. If faith is to be real it must have its lodging deep within and cannot be forced by all the powers of oratory. It is from God as is the gift of life. So too, in the Church there ought to be a life of faith, not merely a

listening to sermons. When the Church is the center of creative life, it will, without force or pressure, create norms of living in keeping with its faith.

THERE is not nearly enough fun in most religious groups. Sometimes one begins to doubt if many Christians know how to play. They are so bent on prohibitions and on trying to set for themselves such serious standards of conduct that they lose their humanity. We must remember that the Lord Christ was truly man—the only real man who ever lived. This side of the incarnation is often neglected. It was the humanity of Christ that made him so offensive to many of the Pharisees. They wanted him to fast and be of sober countenance.

One reason why people drink is that they do not know how to relax. Recreation is a neglected opportunity of the Church. Let the Church be a place where young and old can come and enjoy life as they learn to live. If we are to be creative, to have faith, to live abundantly, we must have trust and confidence in each other. Alcoholism could be closer to our young people than we can ever imagine it to be. But the problem is not so much the contents of the bottle as the way of life itself. The business of the Church is life—not mere prohibitions.

Is it time to renew your subscription to *Social Progress*?

Sanctuary

A SERVICE OF WORSHIP

Aim:

To acknowledge our spiritual concern for the victims of alcohol and to recognize our common identity as children of God.

Invocation:

"Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee, and worthily magnify Thy holy name: through Christ our Lord. Amen."

Hymn:

"O brother man, fold to thy heart thy brother;
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer."

—John Greenleaf Whittier.

Scripture: Psalm 130

Directed Meditation (from Revised Standard Version):

LEADER: "The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, 'God, I thank thee that I am not like other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even like this tax collector.'"—*Luke 18: 11.*

GROUP (*silently or aloud*): Whenever we are tempted to puff up with pride in our freedom from such weaknesses as alcoholism or addiction to narcotics, we would remember that pride itself is a cardinal sin. When we face ourselves honestly we know where we are not strong, where we need divine help. "I would be humble, for I know my weakness." "God, be merciful to me a sinner!"

LEADER: "Therefore, if food is a cause of my brother's falling, I will never eat meat, lest I cause my brother to fall."—*I Cor. 8: 13.*

GROUP: Many of us, even in the Christian Church, are moderate drinkers. Our endorsement or sanction of "respectable" drinking has far more influence in recruiting new drinkers than we may have realized. Let us remember that the drinks we take may lead another to take the drink that will result in addiction. It is our Lord who says, "Woe to the man by whom the temptation comes!"

LEADER: "Look to yourself, lest you too be tempted."—*Gal. 6: 1.*

GROUP: We are not certain, of ourselves, why we are not addicted to alcohol. In the presence of others who are such addicts, we would remember what Bradford said as he watched a criminal pass by, "But for the grace of God there goes John Bradford."

"Therefore let any one who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall."—*I Cor. 10: 12.*

LEADER: "Brethren, if a man is overtaken in any trespass, you who are spiritual should restore him in a spirit of gentleness."—*Gal. 6: 1.*

GROUP: "We are members one of another," as Paul said, and to deny our spiritual comradeship with others is to ruin the chance to help them. When we think and speak of "our needs" instead of "your needs" then we shall identify ourselves with others in a sympathetic way so that we can "bear one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." Too, we must bear our part of the responsibility for the economic and social conditions which lead some to drink.

LEADER: "And be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you."—*Eph. 4: 32.*

GROUP: Ian Maclaren took as the motto of his life, "Be kind, for everyone is having a hard struggle"; and Alexander Whyte reminded his son, "Rather let error live than love die." With others, whoever they may be, we must always show forth the love that "never ends." "When one takes away the spirit of love from the spirit of discernment, the spirit of criticism alone remains."—*Bertha Conde, in The Human Element in the Making of a Christian.*

LEADER: "But whoever causes one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, it would be better for him to have a great millstone fastened round his neck and to be drowned in the depth of the sea."—*Matt. 18: 6.*

GROUP: In all of this let us never become confused about the example we ought to set or the position we should hold. Drinking leads downward. Drunkenness is evil and degrading. Abstinence is better than any kind of indulgence. If we abstain completely, then our example will never lead another to drink.

LEADER: "And do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit, . . . always and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father."—*Eph. 5: 18, 20.*

Prayer:

Our Father, we acknowledge that apart from thee our own lives are unmanageable and we drift into harm. So, too, we know others, often very close to us, who are powerless, of themselves, to deliver their lives from the quicksand of alcoholism. Save us, we pray, from stupid self-sufficiency, blind pride, or easy contentment. Open our eyes that we may see our desperate need of thee. All we like sheep have gone astray. There is none righteous, no, not one. Thou alone art sufficient for all personal inadequacy. Remind us of those about us who in weakness were made strong. When we reach the limit of that which is humanly possible, do within us the impossible. So work in our lives that thy strength may be made perfect in our weakness. Grant that we may ever endure as seeing thee, who art invisible. Let thy power quicken us to loving service for others, that in everything we may glorify thee, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Hymn: "God, Who Touchest Earth with Beauty."

Benediction

—Prepared by Rev. J. Paul Stevens, Christian Education Field Director for the Synod of Texas.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

5,000,000 PROBLEM DRINKERS

There are approximately 115,000,000 persons of drinking age, fifteen years and older, in the United States. Of these, approximately 67,000,000 use alcoholic beverages.

The most recent studies indicate that the number of serious problem drinkers is about 5,000,000. This number includes 1,200,000 persons who are excessive drinkers without addiction and 3,800,000 who are alcoholics in various stages of alcohol addiction. Of the 5,000,000 problem drinkers in America, nearly 1,000,000 have developed various physical and mental ailments as a result of prolonged excessive drinking. It is these who are commonly called chronic alcoholics.

Present data suggest that over 7 per cent of those who use alcoholic beverages become problem drinkers. This ratio is based on current estimates of the number of excessive drinkers and the size of the drinking population. It is not a true relationship, however, because of the number of years it takes to produce an alcoholic.

A few alcohol addicts get that way within a short time, two or three years after they begin to drink. But the great majority have a drinking history of at least ten years' duration prior to the onset of addiction. In the 1940-1950 decade the number of drinkers in the United States increased by at least one third. A true index of the number of drinkers who become problem drinkers cannot be determined until the size of the drinking popu-

lation—those who use alcoholic beverages—remains fairly constant for approximately ten years.

Studies reveal that problem drinking is more prevalent in large urban and industrial areas than in smaller cities under 100,000 population, and in rural communities. The rate of alcoholism—the number of alcoholics per 1,000 users of alcoholic beverages—in large cities is more than twice the rate in rural areas.

It has been observed that the rate of problem drinking within the drinking population is higher in states with a high proportion of dry sentiment than in states where the index of dry sentiment is low. This is understandable when one considers that in states where dry sentiment is high, there will very likely be relatively fewer drinkers but less casual drinking, and consequently a higher ratio of serious drinking, than in wet states.

Five million problem drinkers—that alone makes alcoholism one of the most serious public-health problems in America. The situation is much more tragic than the data indicated.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that at least 15,000,000 persons, one in every ten of the American population, are touched by problems related to alcoholism and inebriety.

Here, truly, is the measure of the problem of alcohol.

—*Reprinted with permission from How to Help an Alcoholic.*

Everyone Welcome, a handbook on racial and cultural relations, will be available through Presbyterian Distribution Service April 1, at 50 cents a copy. Order today!

REPORTS FROM THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN PARIS

African Tribal Leaders to Be Heard

Christians will hail with satisfaction the decision of the Fourth Committee to permit South-West African tribal representatives to speak their minds on the disposition to be made of the territory of South-West Africa, and the further action urging "that the Government of the Union of South Africa will facilitate the prompt travel of Hosea Kutako, Nikenor Hoveka, Theophilus R. K. Kaljiuunguas, and David Witbooi, and/or such other spokesmen as may be designated by them, from South-West Africa to Paris for this purpose during the present session."

Thus far the Union of South Africa has refused to accede to repeated recommendations of the General Assembly that this territory be placed under the trusteeship system of the United Nations. South-West Africa is the only former League of Nations mandate not now independent or within the UN trusteeship system.

To date no South-West African tribesmen have been permitted to appear before the United Nations to state their case, although their courageous British champion, Rev. Michael Scott, has pled for them.

The United Kingdom delegate spoke strongly against the resolution. Francis Sayre, the U. S. delegate on the Fourth Committee, spoke sympathetically, but indicated that the United States would abstain. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 37 in favor, 7 against, and 7 abstaining. The French Government had given formal assurance that there would be no trouble in securing admission for the delegation. However, the Government of the Union of South Africa has refused travel permits to these tribal chiefs. The likelihood is that the negative vote of the United Kingdom in the Trusteeship Com-

mittee, together with the abstention of the United States, encouraged the Union of South Africa in its latest rebuff of the United Nations.

Yugoslavia Peace Efforts Supported

Despite the opposition of the Soviet bloc, fifty members of the Special Political Committee have approved a resolution asking the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states to resume normal diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and settle border disputes amicably. Earlier the Yugoslavia delegate had charged the Soviet Union with plotting "for the enslavement of Yugoslavia since 1944." His speech ran to seventy-seven pages and required two meetings for its presentation. The Yugoslav delegate offered documentary evidence of various forms of "aggressive pressure" exercised against his country: political, economic, and military pressure, also blockade and terroristic and subversive activities.

The resolution as approved by the Special Political Committee recommended that the Governments concerned (a) conduct their relations and settle their disputes in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter; (b) conform in their diplomatic intercourse with the rules and practices that are customary in international relations; (c) settle frontier disputes by means of mixed frontier commissions, or other peaceful means of their choice.

Non-self-governing Territories

The Trusteeship Committee has heard from one of the long and trusted members of the National Council's Department of International Justice and Goodwill—Dr. Channing H. Tobias. Dr. Tobias is a member of the U. S. Mission to the United Nations, and made an important declaration

of policy before the Trusteeship Committee. The Committee discussion had centered on the conditions prevailing throughout the world's sixty-odd non-self-governing territories. There had been heated exchanges over French administration in Morocco, and by procedural wrangles arising out of constitutional objections on the part of administering powers to discussion of political matters affecting their territories.

Dr. Tobias spoke, in part, as follows:

"From my own observation in various non-self-governing territories, particularly in West Africa, I believe that a much more enlightened attitude characterizes the administration of the remaining non-self-governing peoples. In the case of territories for which my Government is responsible, the records of the

Special Committee will show that very great strides have been taken in the direction of self-government. . . .

"My delegation believes that what we must always strive for is that non-self-governing peoples may be placed in a position where they can freely choose their destiny. It is this element of freedom of choice which in our view is the keystone of the whole question. Non-self-governing peoples should not be coerced against their will to assume a status which they do not desire. . . . They should be able freely to decide the nature of the relationship which they wish to maintain with any other country."

This is the kind of statement the churches have come to expect from Dr. Tobias. We are proud of him.

LOUISVILLE CHURCHMEN HIT GAMBLING

Louisville churchmen have been doing something about gambling. They took a cue from Senator Estes Kefauver, who said: "Most of our good people who want proper law enforcement are also members of our churches. If these people do not become aroused, very little will be done at the local level."

As a matter of fact, the Louisville Council of Churches was actively concerned about the corrupting influences of organized gambling before the now famous crime inquiry was launched. Over two years ago the Criminal Court Committee of the Louisville Council published a hard-hitting little pamphlet entitled *Gambling in a Nutshell*. Attention was called to the fact that "organized gambling begins by buying protection and ends by owning the local government." This publication brought an immediate national response.

Christian leaders in different centers were concerned (1) with the facts regarding the influence of gambling in their com-

munities, (2) and with what can be done to deal with this menace. It was recognized by the church leaders in Louisville that progress was being made in obtaining facts and to some extent in arousing the Christian people to the inherent dangers in the growth of organized gambling.

However, in dealing with these inquiries, the Louisville Council found itself confronted with a bottleneck. In every instance, the outcome depended on the decisive steps that had to be taken by local officials. Last spring, however, definite progress was made in securing effective co-operation at the level of local law enforcement.

Ministers and staff members of the Louisville Council of Churches made numerous visits to bookie establishments. "In most places," they reported, "we were handed form sheets and told to make ourselves comfortable. The bookies, of course, didn't know who we were." Many of the bookie visits by the council members were followed the next day by vice squad raids.

Armed with this firsthand evidence, churchmen have called for "a broadened program of impartial enforcement of gambling laws . . . and whatever steps are necessary to protect Louisville from the inevitable corruption of a gambling community which exists outside the law."

Specifically the Council of Churches recommended:

1. Legal steps to discontinue wire information which is supplied to the Twin City News Service in Louisville from the Continental Press Service.

2. Full use of injunction proceedings by the city against gambling establishments which can be regarded as public nuisances.

3. Application of maximum penalties in gambling cases in police court, especially in the cases of chronic offenders.

4. Questioning under oath of bookies in court as to the identity of their employers and owners of property where gambling offenses occur.

In the first three points, the council gave their support to recommendations already made. The Kefauver committee asked all local communities to ban wire service, and city officials in turn have asked Western Union and the telephone company to halt such operations here.

The fourth point is new. The council said it felt some interesting information might be obtained by swearing bookies to tell the truth and then asking them questions about their activities and their bosses.

The council called upon "all Christian citizens to discourage gambling by their own practice and example."

Citizenship

Federal Aid to Education

In his "State of the Union" message to Congress, President Truman urged that "we must begin our long-deferred program of Federal aid to education—to help the states meet the present crisis in the operation of our schools. And we must help with the construction of schools in areas where they are critically needed because of the defense effort."

General Aid: Last year, the President's budget included a tentative appropriation of \$300,000,000 subject to the enactment by Congress of legislation authorizing Federal grants to equalize elementary and secondary education. In support of this, the President had explained: "The purpose of this proposal is to assist the states in improving and expanding our basic elementary and secondary schools, in providing for mounting numbers of enrolled students, and in increasing the number of well-qualified teachers." During the 81st Congress (1949-1950) such legislation was

passed by the Senate but died in the House Education Committee over the issues of Federal control of education, aid to parochial schools, and the question of limiting Federal aid to needy states. Last year, no active consideration was given to such legislation in either branch of Congress.

Critical Defense Areas: Congress recognized that under present laws (P. L. 874 and P. L. 815) the U. S. Office of Education does not have adequate authority to help school districts in critical areas to anticipate problems and prepare for them sufficiently in advance to avoid impairments to the defense effort. Accordingly, Congress had passed a bill (H.R. 5411) under which, for example, the construction of vitally needed schools could be started simultaneously with the construction of defense housing. The bill was passed just before Congress adjourned but was vetoed by the President because of one provision "which would require a group of schools on Federal property which are now operat-

ing successfully on an integrated basis to be segregated." The President asked Congress to pass this bill again without this provision.

Liquor Advertising

Hearings have been concluded on the Johnson-Case Bill (March issue SOCIAL PROGRESS) with both opponents and proponents being heard. Opponents of the bill argued that the legislation was unnecessary since no broadcasting was now going on and also that they believed the bill to be unconstitutional. The W.C.T.U. produced testimony to show that such broadcasting is now going on in both Hawaii and Alaska and the chairman of the committee announced that he had been assured by the legislative counsel that the bill was constitutional since the Federal Government has control of the airways. The chairman also produced a letter from the Federal Communications Commission saying that legislation was needed if such advertising was to be prohibited, that heretofore there had been a policy against allowing liquor advertising on the air; but without legislation they could go no farther. At press time, no action had been taken on the bill by the committee.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii

As we go to press, the Senate has just sent the Alaska statehood bill back to committee with instructions for both Alaska and Hawaii. The vote to recommit the bill was 45-44. This, in effect, shelves Alaska statehood for at least another year and in all probability sounds the death knell for statehood for Hawaii as well. There is one loophole, whereby one of the Senators who was absent or one who voted for recommitment could, within a period of two days following the vote, move for reconsideration.

Foreign Aid Program

According to plans, as we go to press, the President was expected to send to

Congress on or about March 1, a special message requesting \$7,900,000,000 for military and economic foreign aid. It is thought that the President will request \$5,400,000,000 for weapons and about \$2,500,000,000 for economic and technical assistance to the participants in the Mutual Security Program for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1952. Last year the President's request called for \$8,500,000,000, but Congress cut this by more than a billion dollars.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

The authorizing bill for \$12,000,000 as the American contribution to this Fund is still bottled up in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. It was approved by the Senate last fall. A Foreign Affairs subcommittee report points out that the UN General Assembly has not adopted an American recommendation that the Children's Fund be put on a permanent basis and financed by national contributions on the same scale as are other UN activities. The Assembly decided, however, that it should be continued on its present emergency basis through 1953. Since the United States has been the principal financial supporter of the Fund (72 per cent of its budget has come from this country) its continued existence is threatened by the failure of the House Committee to accept this decision and approve the bill.

Universal Military Training

America's deep-seated fear of militarism asserted itself on March 4 when the House of Representatives rejected universal military training by the decisive margin of 236 to 162. The issue was shelved (in all probability for this session at least) by means of sending the bill back to committee without instructions. The Senate has announced that it will keep the bill on its calendar pending more favorable circumstances for its consideration.

About Books

Christian Education in a Democracy, edited by Frank E. Gaebelein. Oxford University Press. \$4.00.

Dr. Gaebelein is Headmaster, Stony Brook School, and in this book presents the report of the National Association of Evangelicals Committee on the philosophy and practice of Christian education.

The report begins by pointing out that modern education is predominantly secular, and that the average home of today is failing to provide positive religious teaching. The author pleads that we shall heed the lesson of contemporary history. Germany with its long Christian tradition and its contribution of spiritual leadership in the past turned to outright paganism because for over a half century God and religion gradually disappeared from the schools of Germany. A generation arose which acknowledged no God and no longer regarded the basic moral sanctions that are the safeguard of national and international harmony and decency. We face the same trend here in America. "To all intents and purposes God has been removed from the educational experience of the majority of our youth."

This is a stimulating and searching analysis of American education. Every phase of it comes under scrutiny. The public school, colleges, Bible schools, the home, the educational program of the Church are all examined in detail. Dr. Gaebelein believes that only a return to the fundamental basic principles of Biblical Christianity offers any positive solution to our educational dilemma. There must be a thoroughgoing Christian philosophy of education, teachers committed to that position, and a Christ- and Bible-centered curriculum. The author

charges that Protestant denominations have progressively departed from the doctrines of supernatural Christianity; thus the Church must bear some responsibility for the secularism of our day. The need for a Christian university is argued, and the arguments are convincing. Statements are well documented with figures and references from many sources.

While the treatment is critical, particularly of Protestant churches in general, the more orthodox groups also come in for rebuke. (See page 223.) The author maintains a good balance between the critical and the constructive.

This is a valuable and important book, and it should be read along with *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard Report).

—Gordon W. Mattice

Failure in Japan, by Robert B. Textor. The John Day Company. \$3.00.

The Allied Occupation of Japan started successfully but bogged down amidstream. The brave program for political and economic democracy, political and personal freedom, free labor, and the dissemination of democratic knowledge often achieved results that were the exact opposite of those expected. Japan today is in the hands of the political Old Guard, the zaibatsu combines, and the thought-control officials; and the mind of the people is turning away from the United States and its allies rather than toward them.

This in short is the basic thesis of Mr. Textor's book. Its value lies in the material he accumulated as an officer of the Civil Education and Information Division of the Occupation, and his analysis of the facts from the viewpoint of a liberal

socially minded civilian. The force of his proposed solution is broken by the fact that when he wrote the book in January, 1951, he envisaged a long period of continued American control during which inevitable disaster could be prevented by a change in policy.

He says much, however, concerning current policy trends that should be noted. The rearmament of Japan is fraught with "glaring disadvantages," not the least of which is the threat of dictatorship and the injection into the Japanese troops of "a new strain of the old pathological ultranationalistic expansionist serum" of pre-war days. Free enterprise will never save Japan, nor will an economic tie-up with the West. Japan's future lies in eastern and southern Asia and "skillful, long-range, area-wide economic planning by Governments has come to be considered necessary by practically all students of Asia regardless of political stripe." The successful defense of Japan against attack is doubtful, for, in the author's opinion, "if Communist intelligence and planning were adequate and if an attack were to come, we could reasonably expect only that Japan would be overrun, quickly and completely."

It is, however, in his analysis of our failure to democratize Japan that Mr. Textor's words should be most carefully heeded. "How we could ever have expected democratic results from Regular Army officers who have 'lived by the book' all their adult lives—many of whom have never voted—is difficult to understand." Moreover, lack of understanding of basic Japanese thought patterns, power patterns, and social patterns and a disposition to hold up American experience as a model for all reform were characteristic not of the Army alone but of Occupation personnel in general and, in the opinion of this reviewer, doomed the democratization efforts of the Occupation from the start.

How we could ever have expected democratic results from any Occupation is a

question Mr. Textor does not attempt to answer but which every thoughtful reader of his book is bound to raise.

—Willis Church Lamott

The Master, by Max Brod. Philosophical Library, Inc. \$4.75.

This is a novel about the life and times of Jesus as seen through the eyes of Meleager, a Greek poet who, in his wanderings, meets and falls in love with Shoshana, half sister of the Master. Shoshana returns Meleager's love but cannot promise herself to him in marriage because she must constantly hold herself ready to do the Master's bidding. She never fully understands her brother's ways or his sayings but she is acutely conscious of his unusual powers.

Meleager, while a scribe in the employ of Pontius Pilate, becomes intrigued with the ways of the Master and writes to his friend and former benefactor, Jason (Judas Iscariot), in Athens about the impact of His teachings. Jason, always eager for new worlds to conquer, comes immediately to Palestine, where he seeks out the Master. At this time Meleager discovers that Jason, who has always reviled and condemned the Jews, is one himself. Eventually Jason is accepted into the Master's inner circle as the twelfth disciple. His cleverness and treachery are revealed in many instances.

The story of the Master's travels about the countryside, his preaching and his healing, is told freely and sympathetically. The persecutions suffered by the Jews at the hands of the Romans are also vividly depicted. But surpassing all else in four hundred and twenty-five pages of inspired narrative is the manner in which the author lovingly portrays the figure of Jesus and the events leading up to his capture by the Roman soldiers.

This book is highly recommended, for it will enrich and deepen one's understanding and appreciation of all that led up to the Easter story.

—Margaret Lockwood

WHAT AMERICA NEEDS FROM THE CHURCHES

By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, JR., *Economist, Brookings Institution.*

IT IS, I think, very fitting that the Assembly of the Division of Christian Life and Work should, at its first annual meeting, try to come to grips with some of the fundamental issues raised by our general topic, "What America Needs from the Churches." There are, of course, no answers that can be given in capsule form to questions as broad as these. But there is a single motivation and a single spirit that can unite us as Christians in our approach to them.

I have been privileged as a member of the Department of the Church and Economic Life to see the strength of this spirit and motivation as a solvent of conflicting views on very controversial issues, and I am sure that this has been the experience of other departments and of the Division as a whole.

We have found in the Department that we could not reach agreement until we had analyzed and debated the economic and technical aspects of problems before us long enough

and hard enough to give us insight into the true nature of the moral and ethical issues involved. We have found that there is no area of Christian responsibility where this process is more necessary than in international relations. I therefore feel very sure that much anxious debate and analysis will be necessary before the Division can clarify its thinking on the particular aspect of our broad topic which I have been asked to discuss: What should be the influence brought to bear by the churches on our national life in order that America may fulfill its responsibilities toward the world community?

A part of the answer to this question lies outside the field of international relations as such. It would be a grave mistake to think of the influence of the churches in meeting individual and family needs and in solving domestic economic problems as something apart from its influence in helping America to meet its responsibilities in the world community.

Excerpts from an address delivered to the Assembly of the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., December 12, 1951, dealing with America's responsibility in the world community. Reprinted with permission.

THERE is a world-wide struggle going on today for the control of men's minds and for the command of their loyalties. I need not dwell on the political significance of this struggle. One element in it is a tendency of Americans to hold up for the admiration of other peoples what we call the American way of life. We are proud of it and in general believe it to be the best way. But we tend to emphasize its material advantages and sometimes talk and act as if these advantages conferred on us moral or ethical superiority also. Our propagandists and even our emissaries bringing material gifts in the form of foreign aid too often confirm in the minds of other peoples the belief that the American way of life is preponderantly materialistic and that our moral pretensions are somewhat hypocritical. As thus presented the American way of life offers no answer to deeply felt spiritual hunger and no inspiring ideal, especially to the youth of other countries. Every American influence, therefore, that instills a truly Christian approach to individual needs, whether it be the Church's ministry or its influence on public policy, helps to remedy this weakness in our country's effort to carry the burdens of international leadership in the struggle against totalitarian ideas and practices. Every influence the Church can bring to bear to enrich and ennoble the American way of life helps America to speak with

moral authority as well as with power in international relations.

IT is also true that any influence the churches can bring to bear on our national life that will contribute to our economic stability and to the equitable sharing of burdens imposed by emergencies like the present one helps America to discharge its responsibilities to the world community.

There are international responsibilities that rest on all of us simply because we are citizens of a country rich in resources, fortunate in location, endowed with great political and economic power, and dedicated to concepts of individual liberty and religious freedom. We have to meet them in the conduct of our business, financial, professional, religious, and other dealings and contacts with the rest of the world.

THEY require us as individuals to apply principles of international fair dealing, to base our transactions on considerations of mutual advantage, to refrain from all forms of exploitation, to respect the beliefs, views, and aspirations of foreigners, to learn from and to appreciate the values and the insights of cultures and religions other than our own, and to respond to the call of human need outside our borders. To the extent that the influence of the churches builds up and makes habitual such attitudes on the part of the American

people it helps to discharge America's responsibilities toward the world community.

What can and should be asked of government is that it broaden and elevate its conception of America's national interest. This has actually been happening to a certain extent over the past thirteen years. Our Government has come to identify our national interest more and more with some of the national interests of other countries and with the fulfillment of some of their aspirations. It has been realizing that among nations as among individuals and groups there is a community of interest. It has committed us as a sovereign state to the promotion of free and democratic institutions, to the defense of free nations threatened by aggression, and to the achievement of a just and durable peace. It has committed us to the principles of the United Nations, including the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, participation and collective action when breaches of the peace take place, and joint and several action in co-operation with the United Nations to promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of social and economic progress in the world.

THERE are three broad issues on which, I think, the churches should concentrate their thought because they cut across many of our present-day foreign policy problems:

1. To what extent is America justified in interfering in the internal affairs of other countries as a means of achieving objectives that command the support and approval of church people and of Americans of good will generally?

2. To what extent should the defense requirements of the free world be given priority over the requirements of other objectives of policy to which in general the churches give strong support?

3. To what extent is America failing to apply to its own actions the principles that it is so strongly recommending to other countries, and what are the effects of such failures on the world community?

In suggesting that the churches need to concentrate their thought on these three questions, I am assuming that they will continue to stand firm against all suggestions of preventive war and in favor of taking advantage of any genuine opportunity that may arise for relaxing the tensions of the cold war.

When these questions are posed in connection with any of our major international problems the answers are by no means self-evident. I do not think that they will be found if we are guided by uncritical enthusiasms which often put us in the position of asking other countries to do many things that we think are good for them but which we are unwilling to do ourselves. I do not think they

will be found if under pressure of the present emergency we lose sight of long-range goals. I do not think that they will be found if we are trapped by our emotions into basic inconsistencies, such as, for example, a crusade against the evils of excessive nationalism in Europe accompanied by blindness toward the evils of excessive nationalism in Asia or the Middle East or elsewhere.

OUR Government is acutely aware of the evils of excessive nationalism in Europe and is committed to the cause of European economic integration and European political federation or union. We have not wearied in telling the European recipients of our aid that we insist on the breakdown of European trade barriers and the substitution of a European market for a set of national markets. Only thus can Europe, we say, be made economically viable. Our military men, General Eisenhower in particular, have said that European union is essential if effective military defense against Communism is to be possible.

I DO not want to be cast in the role of one who lacks the vision and the courage to applaud and support a movement that seems to promise an end to ancient rivalries and the dawn of a new era of economic and political unity and strength in

Europe. But I think a proper sense of America's responsibilities to the world community requires us to analyze very carefully just what it is we are asking the Europeans to do, to count the costs, for there are costs, to analyze the problems, and to ponder the wisdom of a further division of the world into regional economic blocs.

I am quite sure that there are more people who favor a merger of European sovereignties in a European union than favor a merger of American sovereignty in an Atlantic union. I feel quite sure that there are more people who believe in the free movement of workers across European boundaries than favor a substantial relaxation of American immigration laws. We are mistaken if we think it is easier for Europeans to do these things than it would be for us, and we are arrogant if we think that because we are strong and are giving European countries various forms of assistance we can impose on them a unity they do not feel. There is in Europe a loyalty to European culture and civilization that binds all Europeans together. But there is not as yet and will not be for a long time a political loyalty to the idea of a United States of Europe superior to the loyalty felt by Belgians for Belgium, Frenchmen for France, and Dutchmen for the Netherlands, any more than there is in America a loyalty to the United Nations superior to loyalty to the

United States. Love of country is among the deepest of human emotions. We share in it and cherish it for ourselves, and if we hope to see it supplanted in Europe by a larger loyalty we must base that hope on something more solid than American pressure. Fortunately there is something more solid to rest these hopes on, a gradual strengthening of Europe's own will and desire to emerge from the evils of excessive nationalism.

WHAT I am saying is not that America should cease to encourage it or even cease to press for more rapid progress; rather my plea is for a more patient, a more understanding, and a more analytical approach on the part of Americans to this enormous problem. Such an approach calls for a careful weighing of the effects of European integration on Europe's relations with the rest of the world. It requires a consideration of the contribution that America might make to the solution of some of Europe's economic problems by refraining, for example, from such acts as the exclusion of Danish cheese from the American market by checking inflation at home; by investing more abroad; by following a more liberal policy in its foreign trade than has been followed up to now; and by receiving more Displaced Persons into this country. It would require also a more flexible approach to the broad

problem of dividing American aid between military and economic assistance in order to meet individual country's problems in Europe. Above all, it would require a full realization of the fact that Europe's problems are not merely, and not even mainly, regional problems, but are world problems in which we ourselves are inextricably involved.

We can take pride in the record of our country, with all its blemishes, in giving aid to many countries during the past thirteen years. But the relation of giver and receiver is not a healthy or a dignified or a desirable international relationship. Aid cannot be given without conditions. We are, for example, from motives which are not at all open to criticism, very much concerned with seeing to it that our aid "filters down"—as we put it—to the masses of the people in the recipient countries. We are concerned with persuading Europe to find economic salvation in adopting our particular brand of capitalism—high wages, large output, low unit cost, low unit profit. As a capitalist country we have insisted as a condition of giving aid to the Philippines that they pass minimum wage legislation, reform their system of land tenure, abolish the abuses of their labor courts, and impose progressive taxation.

THESE things, most of us would say, are good in themselves. But are they good if imposed as a condi-

tion of aid? As long as we are giving foreign aid we are under strong temptation to try to make over other countries in our own image. Not all the conditions we have imposed or are thinking of imposing are so defensible as those I have cited. As givers of aid we are inclined to expect other countries to do our bidding and to become resentful if they do not. We are tempted to neglect those difficult decisions affecting our own policy and the conduct of our international trading and financial relationships generally that would go far to eliminate the need for aid.

At the present moment we feel obliged to place all our programs of economic collaboration as well as

of foreign aid on the basis of security, without very much thought as to how we shall proceed when and if this emergency passes. I hope that the influence of the Church will help to keep us on the right track in these matters—to keep in the forefront of our minds the fundamental conceptions of mutual respect, mutual trust, collaboration, equality of treatment, and, if sacrifices are needed in a common cause, equality of sacrifice that should characterize our international relations.

If I were a minister, I should have begun with a text. Since I am only an economist I shall end with two: "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold," and, "Go, and do thou likewise."

THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION AND THE CONSTITUTION

By MYRES S. McDOUGAL, Professor of Law, Yale Law School, and RICHARD ARENS, Graduate Fellow, Yale Law School.

IT is only from a perspective of centuries that the United Nations program for human rights can be accurately observed or rationally appraised. This program, too often thought to be at the periphery of the purposes of the United Nations,

represents in fact the main core of rational objectives not only of the United Nations but of all democratic government. It is the contemporary culmination of man's long struggle for all his basic human values. As the charter states, the

principal purpose for which the United Nations was established is the maintenance of "international peace and security." Throughout the charter, however, runs the wise recognition, which pervaded all the great declarations of war aims and general consciousness of mankind, that peace and security, even in the limited sense of freedom from physical violence, cannot be obtained by arbitrary fiat and sheer balancing of power.

Some deprivations and threats of external dictation men find more intolerable than war. Hence the United Nations charter insists upon a peace "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law." It states among its major purposes the achievement of "international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." It both imposes a definite legal obligation upon its member states to promote this objective and establishes a machinery of its own to take further measures.

It may be recalled also that ag-

gression, brutality, and violations of human dignity, such as devised by the Nazis, are as contagious as germs; models of disrespect for human dignity anywhere in the world can be copied everywhere. It is not too much, therefore, to summarize that because of man's deep, rising demands for consideration and because of all these interdependences a world half-slave and half-free cannot endure.

Genocide Convention

It is in the context of these demands and interdependences that the United Nations program for human rights was conceived and is being implemented.

The execution of this program finds partial expression in the Genocide Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the currently proposed International Covenant of Human Rights, and in various suggested measures for implementation and enforcement. The Genocide Convention and the Declaration of Human Rights, the one a treaty to be ratified, the other a declaration of policy and public affirmation addressed to member states, were approved by the General Assembly in December, 1948. The Convention seeks to eradicate

Within the American Bar Association there are two legal points of view being currently expressed about the treaty powers of the American Government. Here Professor McDougal cites examples within American jurisprudence which support ratification of such treaties as the Genocide Convention. In 1950, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., declared for collective action against genocide.

the ultimate deprivation of human rights: the destruction of national, ethnical, racial, or religious groups "as such."

Shocked by the Nazis' barbaric mass murder of millions of Jews, Poles, and Gypsies just because they were Jews, Poles, and Gypsies, a tense world has sought in the Genocide Convention of the United Nations to mobilize the conscience of mankind, to create a new crime, and to outlaw under the laws of all mankind the intentional destruction of racial, ethnical, national, and religious groups.

Genocide is defined as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such": "killing members of the group," "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part," "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group," "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

The Genocide Convention also provides that trial is to be "by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction." Disputes as to "interpretation, application, or

fulfillment" are to be "submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute" and "any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate" for prevention or suppression of the crime.

American Bar Association

Spokesmen for the American Bar Association have urged that this Convention should not be ratified by the United States. At its September, 1949, meeting the House of Delegates of the Bar Association resolved "that the suppression and punishment of genocide under an international convention to which it is proposed the United States shall be a party involves important Constitutional questions" and "that the proposed Convention raises important fundamental questions but does not resolve them in a manner consistent with our form of government," and, therefore, recommended "that the Convention on Genocide now before the United States Senate be not approved as submitted." This action was based upon a report of the Bar Association's ironically named Special Committee on Peace and Law Through United Nations. In this report the Genocide Convention is condemned and rejected. From ratification of the Convention the report asserts: "Endless confusion in the

dual system of the United States" would be inevitable, with "the same crime" being "murder in state law" and "genocide in the Federal and international fields," and race riots and lynching being both local crimes and genocide, depending "on the intent and extent of participation." Freedom of speech and press might be denied as incitement to genocide. American citizens might eventually come to be triable "by an international penal tribunal where they would not be surrounded by the Constitutional safeguards and legal rights accorded persons charged with a domestic crime." And so on.

"To impose a great new body of treaty law which will become the domestic law of the United States" is described as "a tremendous change in the structure of the relation of the states and the Federal Government" of doubtful constitutionality. "To deprive the states of a great field of criminal jurisprudence and place it in the Federal field alone, or under the jurisdiction of an international court, is," so the report runs, "truly revolutionary, not to be effected without an amendment of our Constitution." This country is peculiarly vulnerable, another theme asserts, because the Convention, if Constitutional, must, despite its express terms, be regarded as self-executing and the law of our land, before other nation-states perform. It may not therefore be amiss, whatever the pending action of the Senate on the Genocide

Convention, to explore in brief detail the assumptions and arguments of the Bar spokesmen and to ascertain whether the American people are in fact precluded by their Constitution from adhering to international agreements which they may on policy grounds deem wise or even indispensable.

Exploration of Bar Assumptions

It is doubted by no responsible observer today that the treaty-making power is sufficiently broad and expandable to cover effective action on all matters of international concern, under whatever changing conditions a changing world may impose.

The reiterated, though obscure, emphasis of the Bar spokesmen upon "revolutionary" or "tremendous" changes in our "form of government" bears the inference that they assume that the Constitutional powers reserved to our several states in some way limit the powers of the Federal Government to make treaties or other international agreements. The consistent decisions of the Supreme Court, the practice of all branches of the Government, and the opinions of leading authorities since the beginning of the country make it clear, however, that the powers of the states in no way limit the powers of the Federal Government to make international agreements.

Even if it be assumed, as the Bar spokesmen assume, that the Geno-

cide Convention embodies only "domestic crimes" under present state control, from a federal power so broadly conceived and so expansible, it is hardly possible, certainly not rational, to except genocide.

The Bar spokesmen suggest that approval of the Genocide Convention by the Senate as a treaty would be incompatible with the power of the whole Congress "to define and punish . . . offenses against the law of nations." Throughout our history the treaty power and the powers of the whole Congress have in fact been exercised concurrently over the same events of the greatest variety in our international affairs. No good reason has been, or can be, given to justify treating this one particular power of the Congress, the power "to define and punish . . . offenses against the law of nations," as exclusive with respect to this one particular treaty, the Genocide Convention.

It is difficult to see what this country could lose in prohibiting such an infamous crime as genocide even if other countries failed to honor their commitments. We have had no genocide in this country as the proposed Convention defines it, and our democratic values make inconceivable our planning any new genocide.

International Court

It is clear that the Genocide Convention, as submitted to the Senate,

in no way commits the United States to future acceptance of an international criminal court. Trial is to be by "such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction" only "with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction." Since, however, the Convention does contemplate the creation of an international tribunal, and since, as observed above, a world criminal court may become a necessity not only for punishing genocide but for policing other crimes, such as violation of atomic energy regulations, inimical to world security, it may be worthwhile to examine whether a world criminal court is in fact incompatible with our Constitution and alien to our traditions.

It cannot today reasonably be doubted that the United States has the power to join in the establishment of international courts with jurisdiction over events that are the proper subjects of international negotiation. The power has been too many times exercised, with the support of all branches of the Government, and never denied.

States' Rights

The charge of the Bar spokesmen that implementation of the Genocide Convention would convert crimes traditionally "domestic" into Federal or international crimes and hence "deprive the states of a great field of criminal jurisprudence" is

groundless. Genocide is not a traditional domestic crime and has not enjoyed a "great field" of practice within the United States; and murder will remain murder, punishable as before, even after genocide becomes Federal or even international crime.

What distinguishes genocide from domestic crime is the necessity for proof of a specific intent "to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group as such." What the Genocide Convention does is to provide a new remedy when such intent and the prescribed acts of destruction can be shown. The history of this country reveals no record of mass murder, lynchings, or riots as planned instruments of group extermination. So far from projecting itself into the field of our domestic crime, the Genocide Convention by its terms severely restricts its operation to situations of mass extermination, exemplified in recent times only in the totalitarian areas of Europe and Asia.

The fear by the Bar spokesmen of "endless confusion in the dual system of the United States" is, even assuming that genocide might become a common practice in this country, belied by a long history of effective Federal and state co-operation.

Almost unwavering in its position, the Supreme Court has upheld concurrent jurisdiction on matters as

diverse as election controls, cattle inspection, assault involving obstruction of public lands, forgery, derailing a train carrying Federal mail, sedition, gambling transactions, and the regulation of motor transport. The state courts, for their part, have accepted the doctrine in a great variety of cases, of which a random sampling includes manslaughter, larceny, post-office burglary, forgery, and uttering counterfeit banknotes.

The Genocide Convention is but one of many interrelated measures in a world-wide program to secure peace and respect for the dignity of the individual human being. Rational appraisal of this Convention requires both a perspective of the centuries of man's long struggle for freedom and security by promulgating doctrine and balancing power and a realistic orientation in the contemporary interdependences of peoples everywhere in securing and maintaining a minimum of security and basic human rights. Even in a world where nations are feverishly inventing and creating new instruments for mass murder of hitherto unimaginable scope, it may still serve some purpose for peoples seeking survival to take this opportunity to restate their demand for fundamental human dignity, to reannounce their consensus on behalf of all mankind, and to recelerbrate the identifications of all free peoples with each other.

LESSONS FROM THE JEAN MUIR CONTROVERSY

By CLIFFORD EARLE, *Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

THE fear of "subversive" influence in America has led to some strange excesses. One of the weirdest is the process by which a person is declared unfit for an important public or semipublic position, not because he is dangerous or disloyal or otherwise unqualified, but because he has become a "controversial personality."

This usually happens through no fault of his own. Someone makes a charge that calls to question his loyalty and integrity. There is no need to prove the charge. The one making it wins his point by turning his victim into a "controversial person." A few phone calls later the fatal announcement is made.

Here is a denial of rights long regarded as inalienable for American citizens, especially the right of a man to face his accusers and to challenge their charges. Implied also are moral questions which bring the whole process within the concern and judgment of the Church.

Consider, for example, the case of Miss Jean Muir, well-known Broadway and Hollywood actress, who in 1950 was signed for a lead role in the television version of "The Al-

drich Family," a popular network program sponsored by General Foods Corporation.

This Is What Happened

Miss Muir arrived at an NBC studio in New York one afternoon for final rehearsals prior to the show's fall opening that night. She had brought a cake to celebrate with other members of the cast. The celebration never came off. Rather, the cast was told that the opening had been canceled.

The sponsor later announced that the program had been postponed because a number of protests had been received against Miss Muir's appearing, charging her with pro-Communist leanings. According to *Newsweek*, the protests amounted to twenty phone calls and two telegrams. General Foods claimed it was passing no judgment on the merits of the case. She was dropped because she had become "controversial."

Here Come the Vigilantes

The protests that led to Miss Muir's dismissal were based on a pamphlet, *Red Channels*. Its purpose is to disclose Communist influence in radio

and television. It lists 151 persons in the entertainment industry, along with Red-front, and suspected Red-front, organizations and activities with which these persons are "reported" to have been connected. The pamphlet carefully avoids bringing actionable charges against any person. It grants that some may have been "inveigled" into the Red net.

Red Channels was published as a special report by *Counterattack*, an expensive four-page weekly newsletter of "facts to combat Communism." The principal figure behind both publications is former FBI agent Theodore Kirkpatrick.

Kirkpatrick and a small group of like-minded vigilantes had organized a special committee "to keep the air waves pure." The self-appointed committee, with *Red Channels* as its bible, proposed to make itself the final arbiter in disputed cases. Anyone accused of Communist sympathies or connections could "get right" by proving his innocence or his reformation to the committee's satisfaction.

Once Upon a Time

In *Red Channels*, Miss Muir is reported as having connections with several Red-front organizations and activities in both the "known" and the "suspected" categories. She is listed as a onetime "sponsor" of the Artists' Front to Win the War and the *Negro Quarterly*; a "supporter" of the Southern Conference for Hu-

man Welfare, the Progressive Citizens of America, and the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee; a "director" of Stage for Action; a "vice-president" of the Congress of American Women; a "speaker" for the International Workers' Order; and as having sent a cable of congratulations to the Moscow Arts Theater at its Fiftieth Anniversary celebration in 1948. Reference is also made to the charge of a former California Communist that she had engaged in Red activities in Hollywood fifteen or more years ago.

The citations appear to be based mostly on material provided by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives. In the use of this kind of material certain obvious precautions must be taken. It is well known, for example, that some groups have achieved Red-front listing by a process of gradual infiltration. Others have been used, in the phrase of one informer, as "transmission belts" for Red propaganda. Very few were actually planned and planted by Communist schemers. All this needs to be taken into account. The House Un-American Activities Committee lists about 700 organizations which it considers subversive. The Attorney General's list, widely regarded as having "official" standing, names some 150 organizations.

Even more important, however, is the caution against labeling anyone as disloyal or subversive simply on

the basis of a reported Red-front connection. The writer knows of a man of conservative political and social leanings who was investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee several years ago because he was listed among the sponsors of a Communist-inspired activity in Illinois. Apparently his name had come to the list straight from the telephone book. He explained things satisfactorily; but what of those who do not know they have been listed, or who do not take the trouble to clear the record? It is reported that the Un-American Activities Committee has listed more than a million names as a result of its investigations.

What Can a Girl Say?

Miss Muir's rebuttal to *Red Channels* was clear and forceful. She categorically disclaimed all reported connections with the Artists' Front to Win the War, the International Workers' Order, Stage for Action, the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee, and the *Negro Quarterly*. She said she had been a member of the Congress of American Women in the early months of its existence, but had withdrawn when it encouraged activities she could not endorse. She had supported an independent political committee which later became the Progressive Citizens of America, but had left it before the change.

As for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Miss Muir said

she had been connected with it until four years ago, along with such worthy Americans as Estes Kefauver and Channing Tobias. She also admitted to sending an unpolitical message to the Moscow Arts Theater in recognition of the great contribution to the art of acting made by this organization over the last fifty years.

Miss Muir strongly denied the charge cited in *Red Channels* of pro-Red activity in Hollywood in the 1930's. The reference is to testimony made before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1940 by John Leech, former Los Angeles Communist Party official, who said that Miss Muir had aided him in winning converts to Communism even to the extent of allowing him to use her car. Miss Muir reported that at a Hollywood party in 1936 she had given a congenial stranger the use of her car to transport some guests to another community. When the police reported that the car had been wrecked, she learned for the first time the name of the driver—John Leech. This she asserted was her first, last, and only dealing with him. As for Leech's charges about Miss Muir, it is his word against hers. In deportation hearings against Harry Bridges in 1939, Leech presented testimony that was thrown out of court as being extraordinarily evasive, contradictory, and unreliable. His testimony against Miss Muir appears from the record to have been devious and impulsive.

Miss Muir's friends countered *Red Channels* with a résumé of her connections and activities of which Mr. Kirkpatrick and his fellow vigilantes could only approve. For example, she is a member of long standing of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the American-Jewish Committee. She has appeared before many groups in behalf of the American Red Cross and other charitable agencies of unquestioned character and reputation. She was very active in the United Service Organizations and in Civilian Defense during the last war. She appeared in a leading role in the first anti-Communist documentary radio presentation in 1947.

Miss Muir's defense was made, of course, when it did not count. The whole case was handled as though the question of her loyalty were completely incidental to the main issue. And the main issue, as determined by General Foods, was that she had become a "controversial personality."

Something to Think About

In evaluating the Jean Muir case, one must consider its several effects.

1. Miss Muir herself was deeply hurt by the whole affair. It is unpleasant to have your loyalty questioned. It must be doubly distressing not to have the chance to defend yourself. A disturbing aspect of the case was its effect on her three children. Fortunately Miss Muir has financial security. She is happily and

prosperously married. Another person might have been made quite insecure by being turned into an untouchable.

2. Partly as a result of the Jean Muir episode, the radio and television industry has become very sensitive to the presence of "controversial persons." It is extremely difficult for anyone listed in *Red Channels* to find employment in these media. Several outstanding artists, who are acceptable in Hollywood and Broadway, are pariahs when it comes to TV and radio because their names appear in Mr. Kirkpatrick's publications—José Ferrer, Judy Holliday, John Garfield, and others.

3. We need to underline the danger of the widening use of the concept "guilt by association." A long-established American doctrine is that guilt is personal and cannot be imputed on the basis of relationship or association. To say that Miss A. is suspected of being disloyal because she attended a meeting sponsored by an organization in which fellow travelers are reported to be active is dangerous nonsense.

4. One cannot help wondering about the morality of the vigilante approach to delicate issues which involve personal reputations and inalienable rights. Churches used to have much to say about the evil of gossip and the sin of bearing false witness. May not some of this abhorrence of tattle and rumor-mongering be needed today?

Social Action IN THE

Yesterday

IN 1881 the scholarly and devoted leadership which the Presbyterian Church had maintained in the temperance reform since the time of Benjamin Rush was crystallized by the General Assembly in the erection of its Permanent Committee on Temperance. In 1913 this became the Board of Temperance, and in 1919, the Board of Temperance and Moral Welfare, and in 1923, the Department of Moral Welfare of the Board of Christian Education. Thus for forty-four years our Church has advertised to the world that it held moral reform in an ever-widening circle to be a proper interest of the gospel, which has always had a message for the community as well as for the individual.

Personal religion and social religion are not antagonistic but mutually supplementary. Jesus taught not only individual salvation but social salvation as well. The early Christians were inspired by the expectation of world betterment, and early literature is full of that hope. As the philosophy of Plato little by little became woven into theology, Christians lost their Kingdom hope and began to build monasteries into which to withdraw from the world, resigning themselves to its decadence and comforting themselves with the hope only of personal salvation beyond the grave and a far-off millennium. Of course, there were in all ages individuals who felt an irresistible desire to help to make a better world here and now, but in so far as its avowal as a Christian motive was concerned, it lay smothered for centuries under the debris of academic abstractions, some of which persist to the present hour.

The business of the Department of Moral Welfare is to uncover, revise, release, and apply moral energy of religion to the practical problems of life. This should be done by those who are within the Church instead of those who are without. We believe that the program assigned to this Department is second to none in the whole Church in its bearing upon the things that concern the everyday life of the people as individuals and as members of society, the Church, and the State.

The mere enumeration of the list of subjects handled by this Department must attract the attention of every thoughtful person. Here are some of them:

Prohibition, Sabbath observance, family and juvenile welfare, social hygiene, defectives and delinquents, habit-forming drugs and narcotics, humane education, civic education.

Do these subjects appeal to both mind and heart as embracing a program of applied Christianity which can neither be ignored nor despised, forgotten nor neglected, because of their vital connection with the problems of the present and the future?

—Moral Welfare, May, 1925. (*Prior to SOCIAL PROGRESS, Moral Welfare was the official publication of the Board's department dealing with social education and action.*)

SBYTERIAN TRADITION

Today

SOCIAL action is a natural result of Christian faith. It is part of the *works* without which *faith* is meaningless and dead. The Christian basis of social action may be asserted in several ways:

1. Our faith affirms the sovereignty of God, the absolute Lordship of God in all of life.
2. Christian social action is involved in the very nature of the God we worship and serve.
3. Christians, by their Lord's teaching and example, affirm the dignity of man, the essential and infinite worth of human personality.
4. For Christians, right and wrong in social situations and institutions depend on what they do to persons.
5. Personal commitment to Jesus Christ must involve social concern and action.

There is an important distinction between social service and social action. The two terms have sometimes been used interchangeably, but they have come to represent quite clearly defined and different kinds of Christian activity.

Christian social service embraces the Church's ministry for the relief of human misery and misfortune. From the time of its origin in Jerusalem, the Christian Church has engaged in ministries of mercy as a characteristic practice.

Christian social action is the effort of the Church to influence social and economic conditions so that they will better serve human needs rather than create a vast burden of misery that must be carried as a public responsibility. It deals with specific issues that bear upon human welfare, such as fair play for the workingman, equal employment opportunities, ethical business practices, and wholesome living conditions.

Areas of Concern

Leaders in local churches sometimes say that there are no pressing social issues calling for action. Yet newspapers are filled with stories and reports reflecting social needs about which churches ought to be deeply concerned. Even in the most favored communities there are things to be done in the realm of social action. Wherever a wrong or a need exists, Christians are confronted with an obligation to do what they can to right the wrong or meet the need.

For the purpose of classifying issues, it is convenient to list six areas of social concern: home and community relations, the use of beverage alcohol, the church and economic life, government and citizenship, racial and cultural relations, and world order.

—Clifford Earle and Margaret E. Kuhn, in *Crossroads*, October-December, 1951. Copyright, 1951, by W. L. Jenkins. Used by permission.

NOT LIKE CICERO

By JAMES PECK. *Reprinted with permission from The Crisis, December, 1951.*

RACISTS like to claim that when Negroes move into white neighborhoods the inevitable result is riots such as occurred last July in Cicero, Illinois. Actually, this is the case only where law enforcement officers and the powers that be openly abet the vigilante element of the community, as was the case in Cicero.

When the Nelsons, together with three white friends, bought co-operatively a house in the small residential community of Gano, Ohio, a year ago, they faced the same prejudices and threats as did Harvey Clark in Cicero. After they had been in the community a month, organized opposition subsided. Today friendly relations prevail with families in the neighboring houses.

Of course, the more prejudiced people in the community have not changed their viewpoints. But at least they remain silent on the subject and no longer try to interfere with the Nelsons' right to live in Gano.

Gano is a group of small houses two miles from Sharonville and sixteen miles from Cincinnati, which borders on Kentucky. Members of the co-operative household are Mr. and Mrs. Wallace Nelson, Rev. and Mrs. Ernest Bromley and their two

small children Danny and Caroline, and Lloyd Danzeisen. Before coming to Gano, Bromley was evicted from his home in Wilmington (also in southern Ohio) as a result of his having led a campaign to end segregation in the primary schools. Nelson is a leader of the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations which recently succeeded in getting the Conservatory of Music and the College of Music of Cincinnati to admit their first Negroes.

The group moved into their Gano home at the end of November, 1950. A couple of weeks thereafter the real-estate agent who had sold them the house called and in the course of conversation asked Bromley whether he had two Negroes working for him. He replied that two Negroes were living in the house, but on a basis of equality. They were not employees. A week later the real-estate agent who had been given the contract to sell the house called and offered \$12,500 for the property—\$1,500 more than the group had paid. Bromley told him the group were not interested.

Warnings

A couple of days later two men by the names of Jordan and Woodside

paid the group a visit. They kindly recalled a "near riot" in Sharonville—that was several years ago. And they warned that the neighbors were very much wrought up over Negroes' having entered the community. Members of the group replied that since Jordan and Woodside were aware of this, it was up to them to act against any outbreak of violence. They added that they would be glad to discuss the matter with any members of the community.

Later in the evening Jordan and Woodside returned. They said they had called together some of the neighbors at the Holtsinger Memorial Presbyterian Church, just across the road. It is the only community building in Gano. And they requested that the Bromleys come over.

About forty persons, mostly men, were seated in the church. Jordan and Woodside took places behind a table, indicating that they were the leaders. The atmosphere was obviously hostile. Numerous undertone remarks, some of them threats, could be heard. Negroes were invariably referred to as "Niggers."

Bromley was asked what he had to say. He replied that he had nothing in particular to say, but that he would gladly answer any questions. Some of the men exploded with anger during the discussion that followed. Two left the room, unable to control themselves. The meeting requested Bromley either to ask the

Nelsons to leave the community or for the entire group of five to get out. A sense of frustration prevailed as the meeting broke up.

A number of anonymous phone calls were received by the group within the next few days. In most cases the parties would hang up without speaking. In one case a man asked Bromley whether he had made plans to move and inquired whether a word to the wise wasn't sufficient.

Two weeks later, the group received a visit from Robert Martin, an attorney from Hamilton. He said he hadn't come as a lawyer, since there was nothing the neighbors could do legally to force the group out. He merely wanted to make an offer to buy the property. Members of the group were not interested.

Insurance Canceled

Shortly thereafter the group received notice of cancellation of the fire-insurance policy that had been sold them by the real-estate agency when they bought the property. The policy had been issued by the Mercury Insurance Company of St. Paul, Minnesota. No reason was given for the cancellation. However, a few days later when Mrs. Bromley phoned the bank in Sharonville, which holds the property's mortgage, she overheard a conversation in which someone at the bank was asking someone else about the possibility of "foreclosing if they can't get insurance." She also heard the

speaker identify the property and mention the names of Bromley and Danzeisen. Next day the group got a registered letter from the bank stating that a condition of their mortgage was that they carry fire insurance.

The group obtained a policy with the Ohio Farm Bureau Insurance Company of Columbus, but that too was cancelled without explanation. Finally, through Stanley Robinson, a Columbus attorney, the group obtained a policy from a company in Hartford, Connecticut.

In mid-January, a month and a half after the group moved in, Nelson and the Bromleys decided to attend services at the church across the street. The minister seemed stunned by their presence. With one exception, members of the congregation refused to speak to them; and the matter was discussed in the presbytery. It was learned that some members had threatened to quit the church if the group continued to attend services.

A special meeting of the congregation was held the following Sunday morning. That evening Mrs. Nelson, the Bromleys, and a house guest attended services. The minister seemed more normal. He preached on the inadvisability of church squabbles. But again members of the congregation refused to speak to them.

Now, however, they have relented somewhat. When Bromley and Danzeisen attended services early this

summer, some of the churchgoers were more friendly.

The first act of friendship encountered by the group took place two months after they moved in. A neighbor came over and gave them a dog. And this neighbor has been friendly ever since. The dog was immediately named "Polly"—short for "Good Neighbor Policy."

Friendships Develop

A few weeks later, when Mrs. Bromley and her son were out for a walk, another neighbor talked to her in a friendly manner and invited her in to meet his wife. His wife refused to come to the door and went out the rear exit shaking her head vigorously. Apparently regretful, the woman one day last summer made a point of approaching Mrs. Bromley and talking to her in a friendly manner.

When someone from the community meets members of the group at the bus stop or on the road, he will usually stop and converse if he is unaccompanied. But he will act coldly, probably out of caution, if anyone else from the community is in sight.

A year has passed and the group, including the two Negroes, have established themselves in the community. And there have been no newspaper stories about them. There never are in the many cases where Negroes are peacefully integrated into white neighborhoods. Only exceptional cases make the headlines.

AN EVEN BREAK — HUMAN RIGHTS IN ZANESVILLE

By A. DALE SOWERS, Minister, Central Presbyterian Church,
Zanesville, Ohio.

WHAT can one person do about racial discrimination and injustice? As has been said, "It is better to light one candle than curse the darkness." A young housewife in Zanesville decided to do just that.

When the women's group in the church of which she was a member discussed the subject of human rights and let it drop, she asked, "Can't we do something about it?"

After talking with several people, she decided she could do something about it—she could at least try. She brought ten people together, and thus began the Zanesville Council on Human Rights, which, in its young life of three years, has set the city to examining its habits of discrimination in the light of Christian and democratic principles.

It all began when a minister's wife persuaded a women's group in the church to take as their study book *The Bible and Human Rights*. Mrs. Wayne Saunders, the wife of a young mechanical engineer and mother of two small children, was a member of the group. Although she was new in the community and had but recently joined the church, she was asked to review the first chapter. Since girl-

hood she had wanted to help Negroes. When she learned the nature of the book she accepted at once.

The response to her presentation was typical. One woman's reaction was, "I don't see why we have to be talked to like this." The majority of the group agreed that the treatment of the Negro is unjust and approved the Christian ideal in race relations. But they didn't believe it possible to put it into practice.

Mrs. Saunders talked the matter over with the minister's wife and the executive secretary of the Community Center, a Negro. He introduced her to a newspaper reporter and his wife, also new in the community, who were eager to help. They decided to call a meeting of a few interested people.

There were ten present at that first meeting in April of 1949: the newspaper reporter and his wife, two Negro ministers and two white ministers, the wife of a minister, a Negro housewife, the Community Center secretary, and Mrs. Saunders.

They discussed the pattern of racial discrimination and inequality in the community. All wanted to do something, but they were not sure

what could be done. They felt the need for further discussion and decided to meet once a month. Mrs. Saunders and a Negro minister were appointed cochairmen. They called themselves the Zanesville Interracial Committee.

LATER, after much further discussion, they were to decide that their cause was broader and more fundamental than their name suggested. Feeling that the nation's first responsibility is to "carry out in law and action the spirit written into the U. S. Constitution in the Bill of Rights," they changed their name to the Zanesville Council on Human Rights.

Upon the suggestion of a rabbi who became a member of the group they appealed to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith for counsel. The League sent its regional director from Columbus who suggested a survey of civil rights in the community. The Council decided to make such a survey of Zanesville.

Without financial backing or professional leadership, devoid of political or social influence, the little group of about thirty members began its project. It was decided to survey civil rights in six areas: employment, public accommodations, housing, education, health, and recreation. Members volunteered to be responsible for the areas of their particular interest.

One or two people were given the

responsibility for investigating each of the six areas. They in turn gathered about them a small committee.

Information was secured in various ways. Personal interviews were the most effective, although many people were reluctant to be interviewed. The interviewers were regarded with suspicion and the group looked upon as "subversive."

It was soon learned that letters and questionnaires were ineffective because they aroused apprehension and hostility.

In the case of restaurants and other public places, committees of mixed groups actually tested policies and service.

The investigation and actual survey took from June to November, during which time a wealth of evidence was accumulated. The group met every two weeks in homes of various members to pool information. Each committee wrote up its findings.

THE newspaper reporter prepared a first draft based on the committee reports. This was submitted to the Council's Advisory Board, which urged that the survey be factual and permit the reader to draw his own conclusions. All editorializing and vindictive statements were cut.

The survey needed a name, something more than just "A Survey of Human Rights in the City of Zanesville." While the group tried to think of a name that would capture the

significance and implications of their purpose, the newspaper reporter leafed through his notebook of clippings and quotations. He read at random. This quotation clicked:

"The American way of life is based on the principle of an even break. Just give an American a chance to get ahead, using his own vision and personal initiative—and he'll go on from there."

"There is your title," one of the ministers exclaimed. "An even break—that's all the Negro is asking for. That's it."

THIS title suggested a new approach and format. The findings in each area were summarized in answer to the question, "An Even Break?"—Yes and No.

With the benefit of suggestions from key people in the community, the survey was revised three times and the final draft published in the spring of 1950 under the title *An Even Break—Human Rights in the Typical American City*.

Printing the survey presented a difficult problem. Incomes among the group were modest. But the members made generous contributions, gave benefit dinners at the Community Center, sponsored a Brotherhood Tea at which an offering was received.

The committee shopped for printers, and finally a friend of Mrs. Saunders agreed to print three thousand copies for \$250 with \$100 as a

down payment and the balance when the group could raise it.

The Council distributed as many free copies as desired to individuals and to every church, civic group, and agency which would take them and promise to use them for discussion or study. Whenever possible a member of the Council went over the survey with the group to whom the booklets were given.

REQUESTS for copies came in from forty states and two foreign countries, from individuals, groups of various kinds, public libraries, the U. S. State Department. The United Auto Workers placed an order for one thousand copies, which made it possible to pay off the printer and prepared the way for the second edition of five thousand copies. By this time conditions had changed and some minor revisions were made.

What has the survey accomplished in Zanesville? A minister expressed it this way: "For the first time in the history of the city, the community looked itself in the face racially." People began to think. Leaders in key positions took courage and renewed their determination to work quietly to break down established policies of discrimination.

An institute on race relations was conducted for all public-school teachers by the school administration. A teachers' sorority followed up the institute with a forum on community tensions.

AS A result of its study, the Council felt that the biggest need for equality was in the field of employment. An employment committee was formed. It met with the merchants' association and the Chamber of Commerce. Although the committee received little encouragement, it did succeed in having a few Negroes employed as salespersons in a few stores.

The Council is carrying on a broad education program and sponsors projects such as World Friendship Week Ends when foreign exchange students from nearby colleges are entertained in the city and participate in forums. Educational projects have included speakers and forums, the showing of films on interracial understanding. Films have been rented and made available for free use by schools, service clubs, and community groups.

What has the Council accomplished? It can point to few actual accomplishments. Little dent has been made in gross inequalities still prevalent. The city itself breaks the state law by operating segregated swimming pools. Few employers will hire Negroes except in menial positions. Public places still discriminate. The church, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Scouts are still the most segregated institutions in the community.

But there is a new spirit in the community, and there is one thing

certain—it will bear fruit. A Negro leader who has been heretofore very pessimistic says, "The city which I never thought would is about to change."

For one thing, the Council itself has given a number of people a new experience of fellowship with people of other races. And people are finding that they enjoy and appreciate these new friends.

The community is beginning to accept the Council as a group of people working constructively for the community and national welfare. People are beginning to understand that they are not, after all, "crackpots, Communists, and troublemakers."

What kind of people are they? They are fundamentally religious people. Not all hold to an orthodox faith. Not all are church members, for some have been disillusioned by what they feel to be the hypocrisy of the Church in regard to race relations.

But there is, as Mrs. Saunders puts it, a strong religious undercurrent running through the Council. Although the Church had no formal part in the movement, the members were motivated by religious ideals gained through the Church.

Copies of the Zanesville survey, entitled An Even Break, may be secured from the Council on Human Rights, Community Center, South Sixth Street, Zanesville, Ohio.

Sanctuary

HUMAN RIGHTS

Aim:

To refresh our spirits concerning those unalienable human rights which are the gift of the eternal God.

Invocation:

"Direct us, O Lord, in all our doings, with Thy most gracious favor, and further us with Thy continual help; that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in Thee, we may glorify Thy holy name, and finally, by Thy mercy, obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hymn:

"When wilt Thou save the people? O God of mercy, when?
Not kings and lords, but nations! Not thrones and crowns, but men!
Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they; Let them not pass, like weeds, away,
Their heritage a sunless day. God save the people!"

Scripture Lesson: Gal., ch. 5.

Prayer:

"Lord God of our fathers, who hast granted unto our country freedom, and established sovereignty by the people's will: We thank Thee for those whom Thou hast raised up for our nation, to defend our liberty, preserve our union, and maintain law and order within our borders. Ever give unto the republic wise and fearless leaders and commanders in every time of need. Enlighten and direct the multitudes whom Thou hast ordained in power, that their counsels may be filled with knowledge and equity, and the whole commonwealth be preserved in peace, unity, strength, and honor. Take under Thy governance and protection Thy servants, the President, the governors of the states, the lawgivers, the judges, and all who are entrusted with authority; so defending them from all evil and enriching them with all good that the people may prosper in freedom beneath an equal law, and our nation may magnify Thy name in all the earth; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—*From The Book of Common Worship* (1946).

Meditation:

(Excerpts from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the General Assembly of the United Nations.)

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the charter affirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

NOW THEREFORE, the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

- Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

- Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.

- No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.

- Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

- Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

- Everyone has the right to a nationality.

- Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family.

- Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

- Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security.

- Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

- Everyone has the right to education.

- Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

- Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

Hymn:

"O suffer not her feet to stray; But guide her untaught might,

That she may walk in peaceful day, And lead the world in light.

Bring down the proud, lift up the poor, Unequal ways amend;

By justice, nation-wide and sure, America befriend!"

Prayer:

"Eternal God, in whose perfect kingdom no sword is drawn but the sword of righteousness, and no strength known but the strength of love: So guide and inspire, we pray Thee, the work of all who seek Thy kingdom at home and abroad, that all peoples may seek and find their security, not in force of arms, but in the perfect love that casteth out fear and in the fellowship revealed to us by Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." *From the Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, Oxford University Press. Used by permission.*

Benediction.

Prepared by Henry Barraclough, Manager, Administration Department, Office of the General Assembly, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS

"The Christian in Politics" was the theme of the spring legislative seminar for churchmen held March 11 to 14 in Washington, D. C. Seven Protestant denominations, including the Division of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., sponsored the seminar, and forty-two Presbyterians made ours the largest delegation.

Major political issues involving peace and American foreign policy, employment, economic and social security, and civil liberties were analyzed by churchmen, press representatives, and political leaders of both parties. Congressmen and Government officials explained the fine art of influencing members of the Senate and House of Representatives through letters and personal interviews. They indicated their dependence on church and civic groups for information and new facts.

Delegates spent half a day at the State Department with three undersecretaries of the Department who helped them to gain a wider understanding of the critical issues involved in our country's relationships with other countries of the world. John D. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State for UN Affairs, spoke on our country's participation in the United Nations, reminding the delegates that if we are to maintain our position of leadership in the United Nations, we have the urgent responsibility of taking into account the viewpoints and interests of other countries as well as our own. He reassured the delegates that the State Department has supported all along a plan for a balanced reduction of arms for all nations and has emphasized the need for economic and social freedoms as well as political ones as long-range UN goals.

Assistant Secretary of State for Eco-

nomic Affairs, Willard L. Thorp, analyzed the economic problems involved in international affairs and deplored the way in which stepped-up armaments had brought unproductive uses of many resources and manpower. He told of the effects of increased costs of raw materials which Europe and Japan need for their industrial machine and also the moral judgments that are involved in all phases of foreign relationships.

State Department officials gave forthright answers to the churchmen's penetrating questions and were anxious to have opportunity for frank exchange of viewpoint with a Christian group.

Delegates also attended four workshops: on housing at the Housing and Home Finance Agency; problems of the American Indian at the Bureau of Indian Affairs; child labor at the Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor; and an overseas information program at the State Department. These provided still further intimate contact with the public servants of our government who are doing an effective job.

The second week of March proved to be a time of unusually lively debate on Capitol Hill. A number of delegates were in the Senate chambers when the vote was taken to approve the President's reorganization plan to bring the Bureau of Internal Revenue under United States Civil Service. Senators Humphrey of Minnesota, Moody of Michigan, and Douglas of Illinois carried the reform measures by their stout marshaling of facts and data in support of this reform.

Klieg lights, TV cameras, and motion picture equipment helped to dramatize the opening meeting of a series of joint ses-

sions of four Senate and House Committees on Foreign Affairs, Secretary of State Dean Acheson; Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett; General Omar N. Bradley, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Mutual Security Director Averill Harriman testified on the Mutual Security program proposed by the Administration in the big Senate caucus room.

All the delegates had appointments with their Senators and Congressmen either in their own offices or in anterooms outside the House and Senate.

The delegates were impressed with what they saw and heard those four days in Washington, and Washington officials were likewise impressed with the sincerity and concern of the Church leaders attending the seminar. Many left other pressing engagements to keep their appointments with seminar delegates. Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois came from the heated session in the Senate to speak informally to our group for more than an hour on ethics in government and what he and other responsible members of both Houses were proposing to correct the situation.

Frank McCulloch, Administrative Assistant to Senator Paul Douglas, took part in an evening panel discussion with Senator Ralph Flanders of Vermont and Clair Johnson, Managing Editor of the *Congressional Quarterly News Features*. Mr. McCulloch emphasized the fact that most public servants want to do the right things and are men of conscience and good will, but too often narrow interests, regional and sectional viewpoints, intrude themselves and become identified with national interests.

Delegates came away from the seminar impressed with the challenge to the Church to make its witness clear in government affairs. They were also convinced of the importance of the role of the Church in the cause of freedom and the implication for the Church of the deeper and more dangerous corruption in American life of the great values of American democratic society.

Denominational sessions stressed what churchmen could do to spark much greater concern and interest in local churches.

—Margaret E. Kuhn

THE CHALLENGE FOR THE CHURCH

There are churches and religious groups in the South that are putting Christian love into action. This fact is exemplified by the story of the modern Good Samaritans that recently took place in a small Southern town.

An automobile collision occurred in which the wife of a law enforcement officer was killed. One of the cars was driven by the officer, the other by a Negro man. Both of them were injured and taken to the hospital, but a guard from the sheriff's office was stationed at the Negro's door.

The local newspaper published an inflammatory story designed to arouse prejudice against the Negro, and the circuit judge announced over the radio that the

Negro would be tried on a murder charge.

At this point an interested woman's church group made an investigation at the scene of the accident and discovered that the police officer had been at fault. Thus they immediately called on the newspaper to correct its earlier story and paid a visit to the judge to inform him of their findings. Furthermore, they also secured the services of an able lawyer at whose demand the guard was removed from the Negro's door and the charges withdrawn.

"Am I my brother's keeper?"

—Jesse Walter Dees, professor,
Bethune-Cookman College,
Daytona Beach, Florida

Is Social Progress on your church library shelf?

Citizenship

Universal Military Training

Rumors persist that another effort may be made this session to clear the way for adoption of this measure, or at least provide another test on it. Chairman Vinson, of the House Armed Services Committee, has written a letter to each member of the Senate Armed Services Committee urging swift action on the House-approved Reserve bill "before we again take up universal military training." Vinson insists that this does not commit him to try to push UMT through this session, but there are reports that he will make the effort. He noted in the letter that the lack of an over-all Reserve program had been one of the chief arguments raised by UMT critics. Vinson has said that he is trying to remove "all obstacles" from the path of the bill, but he noted that the letter did not mention whether he was thinking of this year or next.

Immigration and Naturalization

The McCarran-Walter immigration and nationality bills (March issue, SOCIAL PROGRESS) have been favorably reported to the respective Houses of Congress. They are generally referred to as "omnibus bills" since they incorporate in one statute the many existing immigration laws, as well as the Nationality Act of 1940 and some thirty-one amendments to it. Many liberal groups have expressed opposition to these bills, claiming that they are restrictive in nature, designed to keep immigrants out rather than admit them. However, since immigration is one of the most controversial subjects in the field of national legislation it has been pointed out that for practical purposes these bills should be appraised on the basis of whether they are better or worse than existing law.

In this connection, Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee, a staunch

friend of liberal immigration, concludes, "Improvement over existing law cannot be doubted, but that improvement should be carried forward." A State Department report states: "The Department considers that the revised bill is in many respects an improvement over the existing law. The bill constitutes a step in the direction of better relations with foreign countries." In its report on the Walter bill, the House Judiciary Committee says: "Legislation such as this, legislation which will affect the fate of millions of human beings in this country and abroad, has to be approached with foresight and caution. It requires painstaking study, as well as careful weighing of equities, human rights, and continuous consideration of the social, economic, and security interests of the people of the United States."

A somewhat more liberal bill, sponsored in the Senate by Senators Humphrey (D., Minn.) and Lehman (D., N. Y.) and in the House by Rep. Roosevelt (D., N. Y.), has been introduced. However, since the above two bills are out of committee the only means by which these more liberal bills could receive consideration would be by being proposed as a substitute during debate on the floor.

Refugees

Late in March the President sent to Congress a special message requesting approval of a program to bring into this country within the next three years 300,000 European immigrants. Specifically, the President proposed: (1) An unspecified appropriation to aid victims of oppression and tyranny who are escaping from behind the Iron Curtain. (2) Easing immigration rules so that 300,000 Europeans may enter the United States at the rate of about 100,000 per year. He said this would "aid in alleviating the problems created by Communist tyranny and overpopulation in

Western Europe." (3) Continuation of U.S. support for an international campaign that is assisting in the migration and resettlement throughout the world of "a substantial number of persons" from overpopulated European areas.

The President's proposal provides that the 100,000 immigrants, each year for three years, include about 7,000 religious and political refugees from Communism in East Europe; 7,500 Greeks; 7,500 Dutch; 39,000 Italians; and 39,000 Germans and persons of German ethnic origin.

Civil Rights

As we go to press, a Senate Labor subcommittee has just opened hearings on two different FEPC bills, sponsored separately by Sen. Humphrey (D., Minn.) and Sen. Irving Ives (R., N. Y.). In general, the proposals provide for a commission to consider job discrimination cases and go to court to enforce its rulings.

Sen. Humphrey, chairman of the subcommittee conducting the hearings, predicts that the committee will probably combine the proposals into a single bill and report it to the Senate early in May. Opponents of this politically explosive legislation, however, predict that even if

it should clear the committee, which they doubt, it is not likely that the Senate will "find time" to consider it this session. In the event that this should occur, it would almost certainly "provoke a filibuster" in the Senate."

Envoy to the Vatican

Early in April the House voted to ban the establishment of a diplomatic mission at the Vatican unless the Senate confirms the appointee to head the mission. The vote was brought about by a provision which was written into the State Department Appropriation Bill for the fiscal year beginning July 1. An effort to eliminate the amendment on the floor was defeated by a vote of 159 to 82.

Rep. Preston (D., Ga.), who sponsored the clause in the Appropriations Committee, said it was designed to prevent the President from making a recess appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican or of setting up a mission there without Congressional approval.

It would still be possible, however, for the President to appoint a "personal representative" to serve there, with expenses being met from executive funds.

—Helen Lineweaver, Research Assistant

FROM THE WHITE QUEEN

Britain's recent action is a clear recognition that West Africa nationalism is here to stay. To the Gold Coast's cheering, native parliament went word that the White Queen across the seas had appointed history's first African prime minister: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (pronounced nah-*croom*-ah). A year ago, when Britain gave the Gold Coast its first constitution, troublemaking Socialist lawyer Nkrumah, a dedicated anti-colonialist, became "Leader of Government Business," with responsibilities for health, education, and commerce. Old colonial hands forecast bloody revolution, but Nkrumah, in office, co-operated with Britain to make the constitution work.

Husky and handsome, he was born in a primitive jungle hamlet, raised in the bush. He won scholarships to Achimota College, the Gold Coast's "Eton," and was sent to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania to study religion and anthropology.

Nkrumah's appointment as prime minister is far from a proclamation of the Gold Coast independence. But his appointment does show that black and white can work in harmony.

—Time, March 17, 1952. Courtesy of Time. Copyright Time Inc., 1952.

About Books

Biblical Authority for Today, edited by Alan Richardson and Wolfgang Schweitzer. The Westminster Press. \$4.00.

Nothing quite like this book has ever before been published. It could not be until a World Council of Churches had become a fact. As the World Council faced up to the annoying and controversial social and political issues, it realized that we had no ecumenical agreement as to the authority of the Bible on social and political issues; neither did we have guiding principles for interpreting the Bible so that its authority could be directed to specific problems.

The World Council selected a group of Bible scholars from different denominations and nationalities and put them to work. The result is a symposium on "The Biblical Authority for the Churches' Social and Political Message Today."

As the scholars sat together they soon discovered that the Bible itself must be permitted to speak to them before they could describe how it speaks to others. This discovery was significant because it produced rapport among the interpreters, which made them ecumenical-conscious without destroying their particular witness.

Probably the best place to begin reading the book is page 240, which sets forth the "Guiding Principles for the Interpretation of the Bible." For seven different denominational viewpoints on the authority of the Bible, pages 17-126 give the story. Part Two is a discussion by Dr. Schweitzer on "Biblical Theology and Ethics Today." Part Three is by five scholars, on "Principles of Interpretation"; representing the Presbyterians is Prof. G. Ernest Wright.

The final section of the symposium is by six authors who give some specific applications of the Bible to such questions as property, law, Church and State, nation and race, and civilization.

Social education and action is particularly indebted to this book because of the help it gives ministers and laymen in applying the Bible to the problems of the world in which we live now.

—Earl F. Zeigler

The Return to Morality, by Charles W. Tobey. Doubleday & Company, Inc. \$2.00.

Senator Tobey, of New Hampshire, a member of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee, was nicknamed "God's Angry Man" because of his forthright statements made while serving on the committee. He portrays righteous indignation at its highest, thundering as did some of the Old Testament prophets.

This brief, compact book contains three sections—"The Indictment," "The Causes," and "The Solution." In the first section there is a factual and scathing indictment of conditions in America. The findings of the committee are summarized, and the sordid stories of O'Dwyer, Costello, Samish, and others are told. Our period is both critical and complicated, and in lawyerlike fashion Senator Tobey marshals his facts. He makes his case! "Public immorality, crime, and corrupt political practices have grown and become strong and have well-nigh engulfed us before we have become aware of what has been going on."

The section dealing with "The Causes" is well done, though brief. Loss of faith in

God, parental delinquency, the inadequacy of public education, the apathy of the Church, and the indifference of citizens are shown as the root causes of what America has become.

The final section, dealing with "The Solution," is positive and direct. We are told what we must do. Basically, the Senator calls for a spiritual revival which will touch every phase of personal and corporate life. Quotations from Scripture abound, and it is obvious that the Senator knows his Bible!

This is a stirring and yet disturbing book. It ought to be read and "preached" by every pastor. Youth and adult groups will find here abundant material for several discussion programs. The message here ought to be circulated widely.

—Gordon W. Mattice

Capitalism and Socialism on Trial, by Fritz Sternberg. John Day Co., Inc. \$6.50.

This is a thorough book, the result of much study by the author in the field of economic forces. The five parts cover a period beginning fifty years before World War I and ending with the present day. The theme, presented with a world viewpoint, considered with the situations of all major nations in mind, is that capitalism is doomed to failure because the factors that have kept it alive cannot operate beyond the end of this century. Capitalism, so reasons the author, has used imperialism to offer a market for its goods. Imperialism breeds conflicts, of necessity. Since there must be a limit to any economy depending on imperialism and war, the only alternative is some sort of democratic socialism, such as that of the British Labor Government.

The "social antagonisms" which increasingly threaten capitalism were held in check in the early years by the advance of imperialism. But the reprieve granted cap-

italism was only temporary. "The situation on the eve of the Second World War was characterized not only by the aggravation of foreign-political antagonisms, but also by the aggravation of inner economic and social antagonisms as well." These latter conflicts seem not to yield to anything capitalism can do. For even in our own country, where production was so high during and at the end of the Second War that we raised the level of the entire world to a point higher than at the beginning of the war, "a phenomenon for which there is no parallel in world history," even though this was true, the social antagonisms increased within our own borders. The conclusions reached by the author, weighing all the evidence, are four: "There is a chance for a democratic socialist development in the world. It is possible that the world may plunge into barbarism. Capitalism and socialism are on trial everywhere. Capitalism will hardly survive the twentieth century."

All this calls for one comment: if men must always remain the same unredeemed beings that have produced the results this author lists, then his conclusions are true. If we are the victims, not the masters of circumstances, everything we attempt must be doomed to failure. If only selfish human nature can be depended upon, and if we are to look for salvation only from systems devised by man, for man's good as he thinks of his own good, then this author reasons rightly. If there are no forces that can operate outside man to set up values and determine behavior patterns, then the socialist democratic system too will fail. Only the teachings and practice of the Christian religion make democracy possible. History shows this. I think even the capitalist system could be Christian. Men do not need always and forever to behave merely as human beings. They may be sons of God.

—John C. White

Editorial Comment

MISS KUHN BECOMES ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

Miss Margaret E. Kuhn becomes associate secretary of the Department of Social Education and Action on July 1. Her election was confirmed by the Board of Christian Education at its meeting in April. Miss Kuhn has been a member of the staff of the Department since the fall of 1948.

For several years Miss Kuhn was a member of the national staff of the Y.W.C.A. with headquarters in New York City. During the war she carried important assignments as a member of the national committee of USO.

Miss Kuhn is a dedicated Christian leader. She brings to her new post a spirit and a set of skills which have brought her wide recognition in Christian social action circles.

PREVIEW

This issue of our magazine presents several articles related to the Social Pronouncements of the 164th General Assembly, which appear on pages 25-30.

Dr. Goldman's article, "The Presidency as Moral Leadership," is the kind of tract that should be read by every delegate to the July conventions of both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Dr. Goldman is the author of *Rendezvous with Destiny, a History of Modern American Reform*, to be published by Knopf in the fall.

In his article on hysteria, Dr. John Owen voices a concern that troubles many loyal Americans. He wrote to us as follows: "I was born in England, the son of a clergyman, and have lived in America for many years. I am a graduate of Duke University (A. B.) and the University of Southern California (A. M., Ph. D.). From 1949 to 1951 I was an assistant professor of sociology at Ohio University and am serving during the current academic year as visiting professor of sociology at the University of Helsinki on appointment from the U. S. Department of State. I am a member of the Episcopal Church, American Sociological Society, Phi Beta Kappa, and the AAUT. My wife is a cousin of General Dwight Eisenhower."

In discussing Christian unity, Alan Paton, of South Africa, underscores an often-neglected dimension of ecumenicity. In the true Church there can be no racial separation.

Miss Shotwell's documentary piece on migrant children suggests what can happen in hundreds of American communities where migratory labor is em-

ployed. A migratory farm worker averaged 101 days of work in 1949 and received \$550 in pay. To get the Christian perspective of a problem like this, take a child and put him in the midst of it.

Dr. Joseph J. Copeland is a minister of Second Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, Tennessee. But when he wrote the article about Jim Robinson he was minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Denton, Texas. We suspect that the huge success of Dr. Robinson's visit in Texas was due in no small part to long-range preparation engineered by Dr. Copeland himself.

FOOTNOTE TO THE JEAN MUIR CASE

Many readers have expressed interest in the Jean Muir controversy as outlined in the May issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. Miss Muir's private circumstances are such that her being ostracized by TV did not endanger her security. The article suggested that a person in different circumstances might have been made quite insecure by being turned into an untouchable.

This seems to have been the case with the great Negro actor Canada Lee, whose death a few weeks ago was the occasion for long obituaries and appreciative editorial comment in newspapers across the land. He was honored especially for his portrayal of the leading role in the recent movie version of Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*.

Now it is revealed that for many months before his death Mr. Lee was unemployed. It had been rumored that he was overly ardent in pleading the cause of racial justice and had accepted invitations to appear before groups later suspected of "subversive" influence. He had thereby become a "controversial personality." On at least four occasions remunerative TV roles were his to have, provided another station employed him first.

The whole sordid story was told by Walter White in his syndicated column of May 15. Mr. Lee's situation became so desperate, reported Mr. White, that he considered setting up a stand in front of the theater off Broadway showing *Cry, the Beloved Country* in order to declare his loyalty and to enlist public support in his campaign against ostracism.

In the meantime, the radio and TV operators, and the sponsors of their shows, go on shrugging their shoulders over all such affairs. They suggest that screening committees be set up composed of representatives from the stations, from the sponsors, and from the professional groups. This sounds at first like a good idea, but is it really greatly different from other unofficial screening groups such as the self-appointed committee "to keep the air waves pure" organized sometime ago by Ted Kirkpatrick and his fellow vigilantes?

—Clifford Earle

THE PRESIDENCY AS MORAL LEADERSHIP

By ERIC F. GOLDMAN, *Ph.D.*, Associate Professor of History,
Princeton University. Reprinted from *The Annals* by permis-
sion of The American Academy of Political and Social Science,
March, 1952.

THE feeling that the Presidency is a post far removed from workaday thought and action has been so fixed in the public mind that millions have demanded of the Chief Executive standards they never would have thought of exacting from themselves or from their own circle. American Presidents have often tried to define this peculiar aspect of their office. "The White House," said Theodore Roosevelt, "is a bully pulpit." The Chief Executive, Woodrow Wilson put it, "is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can." Probably Franklin Roosevelt came closest to the heart of the matter. The Presidency, Roosevelt declared shortly after his original election, "is not merely an administrative office. That is the least part of it. It is pre-eminently a place of moral leadership."

Roosevelt, who was no man for the intricacies of definition, left the phrase "moral leadership" dangling without much explanation, but nevertheless he had pointed to a real and important aspect of the Presidency. Every society has certain values

which it considers essential beyond the self-interest of any individual or group of individuals, and it seeks in some one human being the symbol and ultimate guardian of these values. For Americans, the essential values have largely been an amalgam of patriotism, religion, and democratic aspirations. Their supreme guardian has been the man whom they choose to call, with all the grave dignity of the title, "Mr. President."

For the periods of comparative calm in the United States, most Americans have cheerfully settled for Chief Executives whose moral leadership amounted to little more than keeping up the appearance of an impeccable maître d'. At other times, the general public, either gradually or in a sudden surge of apprehension, has come to feel that some fundamental of the American ethos was in peril, and then they have turned to the White House for rousing and exacting moral leadership.

For the Hour, the Man

The United States was born in the midst of its first moral crisis. The Re-

public itself was in question. Would it really work—this bold attempt to combine great freedom and practical organization under the Constitution? No other nation had ever tried it; Europe was openly skeptical, often derisive. At this point the country found the firm, moral leadership of George Washington, who kept reminding his fellow citizens that something more important than their private concerns was at stake.

The country responded; the experiment worked. Then, welling up out of the facts of everyday living, came a second great issue. It was all very well to assume that American freedom gave every man an equal chance to enjoy the delights of success. But as a practical fact, how equal was opportunity when seaboard commercial interests were steadily bending the activities of the Federal Government to their own advantage? First under Jefferson, then two decades later under Jackson, the American people found a Chief Executive who resummoned them to the ideal that government should exercise itself to keep the avenues of opportunity open for everyone.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the issue posed by George Washington pressed for attention again. Could this extraordinary experiment of union and freedom really be kept going, now that the powerful slave domain was tugging in the opposite direction? The frantically careering North tried to brush the issue aside,

compromised its way through administration after administration, then, prodding and being prodded by Abraham Lincoln, took its moral stand. The Union, above and beyond any region's special interests or desires, had to be preserved.

For almost three decades after the Civil War, the United States had all the appearances of a nation that had suddenly and irrevocably relegated honesty to the Sunday schools. Calhoun adventurers flung together economic empires to the plaudits of ministers, professors, and the corner groceryman. Politicians ravaged the public resources with only flurries of protest. The "smart man," the businessman, and the public official who could maneuver, bludgeon, or steal his way to a fortune, had become the glamour figure, to be excused his frailties as a later generation was to forgive movie stars their divorces.

The Cycle of Moral Issues

Slowly, in two stages, the reaction came. In its most obliviously careering moments, the United States has never been entirely free of the disturbing tap on the shoulder from its Puritan tradition. Mounting hard times in the agrarian areas and an increasing frustration of ambition in the cities made the ways of Washington less and less easy to dismiss. In the election of 1884, for the first time in the history of the country, the major issue was corruption in the Federal service, and the Democrats

presented as their candidate Grover Cleveland, apostle of the doctrine that "public office is a public trust."

Cleveland had not left the White House when a second reaction was making itself felt to the roar of crumbling political dynasties. The Cleveland years marked a high point in the transition from an agrarian, small-town America to an industrialized, urbanized society, and the transition left millions sure that America as the land of wide-open freedom and opportunity was more in danger than it had ever been before. A large part of the public was soon joining in President Theodore Roosevelt's crusade against "malefactors of great wealth." The country tried Roosevelt's suggestion for a successor, William Howard Taft, quickly found him too amiable for moral leadership, and responded to the cathedral summonings of Woodrow Wilson.

The moral leadership established by Wilson as a domestic reformer was soon transferred to his wartime Presidency, when the issue of the security of the Republic asserted itself once again. In the early 1920's the Harding scandals almost created the type of major moral crisis that Cleveland had met; but the situation was easily handled by the Coolidge Administration and was passed over without requiring of Coolidge any crusading beyond a kind of picklish honesty. After the respite of the later 1920's, Hoover's boggling before the depression storm opened the way for

Franklin D. Roosevelt's call to the faith that, stock crashes and bread lines notwithstanding, the American dream of freedom and opportunity would endure. Then Roosevelt, like Wilson, passed over to the moral leadership of the defense of the Republic.

The two Roosevelts, Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Wilson—these are the eight Presidents who, by summoning their countrymen to look beyond selfish interests at a time when a large part of the population felt that essential values were at stake, have provided effective moral leadership. Since moral leadership is the ultimate test of the Presidential office, it is not surprising that the entire eight are among the most generally esteemed of all American Chief Executives.

Where They Came From

These eight men came from exceedingly varied backgrounds, ranging from Lincoln's rail-splitting youth to F.D.R.'s boyhood at Groton; but their origins are not without a pattern. Not a single one of the Presidents in whom the American people found important moral leadership came from a predominantly business background. All the essential values of the United States were formed in a society that was fundamentally agrarian. Consequently, the values are part of a powerful national tradition which tended to assume that the urban businessman

was a slick conniver, especially suspect in periods of moral crisis.

Four of the eight Chief Executives were not particularly associated with practical politics—General Washington, Thomas Jefferson, a Jack-of-all-gentlemen's-trades, the planter-soldier Jackson, and Wilson, only a few years removed from Princeton University. If the remaining four had spent most of their mature lives thinking about or practicing the art of getting office, they were politicians whose careers, at least to some extent, were connected with battles against the regular organizations. They therefore escaped the traditional American wariness of the man with a predominantly political stamp.

This disassociation of the outstanding moral leaders from old-line politics is no accident. Historically, the man with a predominantly political stamp has not been the type to whom Americans, generally, have been willing to entrust their more anxious moments.

The nonpolitician who was also a military hero has a confused place in the story of moral leadership. Throughout American history, war heroes have often been boomed for the Presidency on the grounds that they would be magnificent moral leaders, scourges of corruption, and totally aloof to political or class concerns. Some of these heroes fizzled in the course of becoming candidates, and some were elected only to add little or nothing to the history of

moral leadership. On the other hand, two men among the eight successful moral leaders, Presidents Washington and Jackson, were military heroes. The evidence ends up in a snarl of meaning.

The Know-how

All eight Presidents who proved important moral leaders shared certain ways of carrying out their leadership. The essential technique, of course, was not to need any technique; the President had to be, in his own self, the morality incarnate—not all the values that make up the American credo, but the one that was foremost as an issue at the time. Even more, he has been, or appeared to be, a man who could do something about it. With the exception of Washington, whose administration closed just as political parties were forming, these men have shown no reluctance in laying aside rule-book manners to lead, manipulate, and, if necessary, to hammer their own political parties into line while simultaneously outmaneuvering the opposition. What's more, and especially with the Roosevelts, they were usually able to carry it off with a glib air of "Papa knows best."

The Present Day

Now, in the 1950's, there are daily signs that President Truman has come to face a moral crisis in which large sections of the American public feel that all three of its essential val-

ues are seriously menaced, two of them more gravely than ever before. This is a generation made jittery by the depression; it is, more importantly, a generation that remembers the boom and bust that followed World War I. During all the Truman years, despite the general prosperity, concern over continued opportunity has equaled, or come close to equaling, the apprehension of the periods of Jefferson, Jackson, and the two Roosevelts. The forebodings of World War III are graver than any previous worry over the safety of the Republic because war with Communism is not simply war against troops, but against a pervasive doctrine; not simply against a great power or even two, but against an agglomeration of forces that could amount to more than half the population of the world. Similarly, the indignation over scandals in the Federal service contains elements unparalleled in the history of American crusading against graft. These are scandals in a Federal Government which, more than ever before, directly affect the workaday lives of all its citizens.

To provide the unprecedented moral leadership demanded on all sides, President Truman came from a background which, if the past is any judge, is just about as unfortunate as it could be. This is no patrician, no politico with an antipolitician air! This is the protégé of Boss Tom Pendergast, who has a talent for acting

too late, and with an air of peevish reluctance, when public scandals appear.

The results add up to an intriguing political phenomenon. History will probably record that on some critical occasions Harry Truman has acted with a courage, a farsightedness, and a disregard of petty advantage which were unexcelled by any of the great moral leaders of the past. At a time when experts freely told him that the move meant political suicide, shortly before the election of 1948, he demanded a sweeping program to meet the acid test of American opportunity—Negro rights. Risking the awful responsibility for World War III, he boldly ordered American troops into Korea as a measure of ultimate security to protect ultimate American security. Facing squarely into a gale of McCarthyism, he repeatedly summoned the country to recognize that character assassination could not be made compatible with honesty and decency.

But moral leadership from the White House has never been a matter of specific actions. It has come from an amalgam of actions and tone, of personality and program, of the special worries of the hour and the total impact of the man. So the nation, restive and troubled, goes on feeling its way, as it has done so many times before, toward a leader it cannot describe except by saying that with him it will feel that all its essential values are safe.

HYSTERIA WON'T HELP

By JOHN E. OWEN, *Visiting Professor of Sociology, University of Helsinki, Finland, on appointment from the United States Department of State.*

MANY interesting comparisons suggest themselves when one leaves the United States for Europe and comes under the Russian shadow in the Finnish capital of Helsinki. But for the writer of this article the most noticeable contrast is the absence of any hysteria in Finland, and it is so striking that it gives rise to uneasy reflections regarding the American scene.

For it would appear that although America is the land that is farthest removed, geographically, from possible attack, its recent mood has expressed a fear and hysteria that is unparalleled either in its own history or in the present experience of any other Western country. By contrast, the calm that prevails in Europe generally and in Finland particularly is a rebuke to our own fortitude and moral stamina. A fear-laden atmosphere certainly will not do anything to ward off any possibility of imminent attack and may very easily create a situation in which such a catastrophe would be made more probable. Is not the mood of recent months and years a reflection upon the amount of real and vital religious faith that we possess? Does it not suggest that our actual faith is in dol-

lars and guns, rather than in the power of the Spirit?

Economic vs. Spiritual Values

It has become a truism to state that economic values are more important than spiritual values in the Western world, but is there not evidence aplenty that many of us are more concerned with the threat to our economic standard of living that the war-preparatory era represents rather than the threat to our basic freedoms? Do we not have an obligation both to cast off the contemporary wave of fear and to show that we stand for higher and more enduring values than those manifest in the materialism that the Russians believe in? The past few postwar years have raised uneasy feelings in the minds of many that the foundations and roots of fundamental freedoms in American life are not so firmly established after all, and that perhaps the religious faith we profess to live by is not so central to our experience as we have hitherto preferred to hope. For should not a religious faith that is meaningful and vital obviate the need for, and indeed make impossible, the emergence of any such ethos of fear and hysteria as has

swept over the country in so short a time?

If this hysteria were related solely to the fear of atomic bombing and possible destruction, it would be more understandable, in view of the fact that America is facing a new world situation involving a threat to its life that it has never had to confront before. But the present mood does not end there. The wave of wanton name-calling, "smearing," and character assassination represents an ugly force that has arisen in our national life, and it is a threat that does not come from Russia. The contemporary atmosphere in America is not one that is calculated to raise the esteem with which other democratic lands view the country. For if humanitarians and pacifists, and in fact if all individuals with a social conscience and a sense of justice on racial and economic issues, are to be labeled as "Communist" or "Communist sympathizers," then freedom as we have known it is threatened as much from these trends within as it is from the Soviets without.

Freedom and Justice—Moral Principles

Freedom is indivisible, and if the freedoms of any group are curtailed, the freedoms of all people will ultimately be in jeopardy. And that the contemporary mood of hysteria and suspicion constitutes a menace to our democratic concepts and processes is only too apparent to all who are con-

cerned with the safeguarding of our liberties from any force that might endanger them. If liberty is to be restricted to those who hold "sound opinions" on social and economic matters, then the range of what is popularly considered "sound" will in time become narrower and narrower, and freedom of speech and expression will come to assume Russian proportions.

If we believe in the sane judgment and democratic loyalty of our fellow countrymen, we must get rid of the attitude of mind that shows itself in witch hunts, name-calling, and in special loyalty oaths which are as unnecessary as they are ineffective. Do we not have a first necessity to clear the air of the pollution of fear, hysteria, and suspicion that now seems liable to destroy the basic liberties which we are professedly preparing to defend? If the rights of minority groups, conscientious objectors, humanitarians, and the holders of unpopular opinions are allowed to be submerged in the present crisis, then those who now seek to restrict these groups will find in the end that their own freedoms are endangered. For freedom and justice are moral principles whose basic attribute is their essential universality. We cannot, for example, deny certain elemental rights of humanity to those who are not of our own race or creed or opinion without running grave risks of losing those same rights among ourselves. If the freedom of speech or

conscience of any such group is suppressed, freedom at large will eventually degenerate into a meaningless and irrelevant concept.

Greed and Fear—America's Enemies

Our present crisis situation with Russia gives a diabolical opportunity for the unethical forces of organized selfishness to attack humanitarians and liberals and to associate them unjustly with the enemies of freedom. And yet it must be clear to all enlightened minds that the forces of greed and fear are themselves our own worst enemies that would keep America back still farther from its efforts to reach a just society. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance, but in addition to military preparedness it is a moral and intellectual vigilance that is needed today against those who would employ fear and suspicion as a means of postponing the social changes that economic and racial justice must inevitably necessitate. Behind the wave of witch-hunting and "smearing" does there not lie a pathological fear of change in which economic power and privilege may have to be surrendered? Allied with this is the erroneous view that by plain force, by refusing to yield any economic power and by silencing all claims for justice, the inequities of the *status quo* can be maintained. But as Reinhold Niebuhr

has pointed out (*Reflections on the End of an Era*) this only aggravates injustice and increases the vehemence with which its victims will resist inequalities. A dying social order so hastens its possible death in the frantic attempt to avoid or postpone it.

The writer's experience in Finland indicates that the people of Europe are fully aware of and critical toward the hysteria-laden mood of mid-century America. They are also far from blind to the areas of racial and economic injustice that stain our democracy. For example, in discussions with university students overseas the racial question is nearly always one of the first to be raised. This should constitute a challenge to all enlightened Americans to put into practice the Christian and democratic ideals they profess. Quite apart from the ammunition that our problems give to Russian propaganda, we have a moral duty to fulfill the highest concept that other freedom-loving peoples entertain regarding our way of life.

While girding ourselves against the foes of liberty abroad, we have an equally essential need to eradicate the imperfections of hysteria and injustice in our own democratic armor. In the present crisis of human freedom it is the ethical responsibility of liberal religion to express its social conscience with clarity and fearlessness.

Reading and research during the summer will make your fall programs more effective!

CHRISTIAN UNITY— A SOUTH AFRICAN VIEW

By ALAN PATON, *author of Cry, the Beloved Country.*

In a darkening and tragic interracial situation in South Africa, Alan Paton, along with an all-too-small group of Christians who are vocally liberals, and of liberals who despise conventional Christianity, is one of the scintillating rays of hope. It is not commonly known that this teacher, social reformer, and "interpreter" is now living in a Natal leper colony, nor that his Cry, the Beloved Country sold more copies in South Africa than any other book, the Bible excepted. We salute a man who preaches and practices brotherhood in the name of the universal Christ in South Africa.—Rev. Prof. Horton Davies, Dean of the Faculty of Divinity, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

CHRISTIAN unity—a South African view. It must be clear that such a discussion will inevitably be a discussion of racial affairs. We call South Africa a multi-racial society, and any real South African cannot but cherish the ideal of achieving some kind of unity out of such diversity.

In South Africa the policies of racial separation are already warp and woof of the national life. The native reserves, the city locations, the British protectorates, the sick in hospitals (whether in separate hospitals or in separate wards), the bathing beaches, and a hundred other examples can be given of this, all dating back many years.

It seems quite inevitable that the coming of European settlers or invaders or missionaries or officials or traders to any African country should immediately, by reasons of education, culture, religion, and social habits, cause the evolution of a pattern of life which emphasized the differences between the newcomer and the indigene. This pattern can be seen in every African country. But the pattern in South Africa was more striking than in all the rest, because the relationship between white and black was from its beginnings that of enemy and enemy, and because the necessity for survival, for the survival of a white people on a black continent, was the ultimate basis of

Excerpts from the third Peter Ainslie Memorial Lecture on Christian Unity delivered by Mr. Paton in August of 1951. These lectures are given annually at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, and are sponsored by the Disciples of Christ, U.S.A., through their Society for the Promotion of Christian Unity. Reprinted by permission.

all secular policy. In such days there was no relationship possible except two, that is, enemy and enemy, or master and servant; and any other relationship of person and person was to be kept remote and austere, never becoming that of friend and friend, and, above all, never becoming, except at the cost of being made outcast, that of man and woman.

This feeling of necessity to separate oneself and to hold oneself apart was strengthened by the arrival of the British and other missionaries, whose aim was the salvation of souls and not the ensuring of survival. These missionaries preached the brotherhood of man and raised moral questions, so that the authorities were caught and vacillated between the opposing considerations of the rights of both the settlers and the conquered.

So there arose that strange and baffling paradox, which is part true, part untrue, that in respect of the nonwhite population of South Africa, the Afrikaner and English views are irreconcilable.

This situation has profoundly affected our Churches, so that we find that on the question of *apartheid* the English-speaking Churches and the three Dutch Reformed Churches appear in general to be ranged on opposite sides. They agree on one thing: that one has no right to seek the approval of the Scriptures for what are the secular policies of the

State. But in all their other pronouncements, it is a conclusion that is inescapable, that the Dutch Reformed Churches regard the preservation of racial difference and integrity as a solemn duty, and consider that only by the separation of non-white peoples will they be able to escape the disabilities imposed on them by life in a mixed society, while the English-speaking Churches stress man's dignity as a child of God, and find in men's common humanity a fact of greater significance than men's differences. One cannot justly neglect to state that the present Government, though a secular body, must derive many of its ideas and purposes from the Dutch Reformed Churches. The Dutch Reformed Churches stand to the present Government in a relationship that has never before existed between any South African Church and any South African Government. Nor should one omit to mention the fear of the English-speaking Churches that the Dutch Reformed Church may become an instrument of State and that there are groups in the Dutch Reformed Church that desire to establish a closer and more permanent relationship between the State and the Church. Nor should one omit to suggest that there are groups with the Dutch Reformed Church that believe that a Church, while having respect for the temporal authority, should under no circumstances yield one tittle of its independence, as a sov-

ereign body whose head is the Lord.

We are living in a moving world, and Christians should re-examine statements of moral principle and programs of moral action so that that which is of Christ and eternal may be separated from that which is of time and place.

It is frequently said and thought that the incompatibility of the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking Churches is so profound that any kind of co-operation is beyond realization. Each side fears that co-operation will be at the cost of some sacred ideal or principle. At one time the Dutch Reformed Churches were represented on the Christian Council. I hope they will be again, not with the intention of converting or appeasing, but of trying to find some common ground.

Failure to achieve even such limited co-operation can, I believe, lead to only one thing; it will mean not only bitter and unfruitful strife, but we will be so occupied with this internal strife that we will be unable to adapt ourselves, as we must, to the great forces stirring in our continent and in the world.

All South African Churches mirror the existing social arrangements, and this truth should keep us humble. It is interesting to quote in this connection from the first Referaat of the Bloemfontein Congress:

"With a few exceptions all the Christian Churches of South Africa

use separate church formations for nonwhites. In the case of the exceptions justice is not done to the non-white; he must usually sit at the back, and gets little or no say in matters of church management."

Now I think it quite possible that there will arise cases of mixed congregations of English-speaking Churches where separation will yet be brought about, partly because the presence of Christians of color poses uncomfortable problems, partly because of a sincere belief that their spiritual interests will thus better be served. I also think it possible that there will arise other cases of mixed congregations where the presence of nonwhite Christians will challenge that particular society to achieve a more truly Christian fellowship.

I think it fair to say that while both Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Churches in their pronouncements on separation reaffirm their belief in the unity of all mankind in Christ, the English-speaking Churches seem to require some visible sign of that unity. I take it that the decision of the Grahamstown District of the Methodist Church to hold for the first time in 1950 joint ministerial sessions was an expression of such a need. So also is the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in the Transvaal, where hard work is being done to provide a meeting place where Christians of all races might meet to worship, study, and work.

It seems that the English-speaking Churches will tend to adopt more such measures, primarily for the purpose of affirming and experiencing a true unity in Christ.

Yet there are evidences that at least more consultation will take place between white and nonwhite members of the Dutch Reformed Churches; this is at the moment high level and explorative, but I am sure that the intention is not only to learn to know one another's minds, but also to affirm and experience a truer unity.

What we dread in separation is not residential or territorial separation, nor the existence of separate congregations in Parktown and Orlando, nor the provisions of separate hospitals and churches and schools, but the profound separation of man from man. We have a conviction that if separation of man from man goes beyond practical and utilitarian considerations, and becomes itself elevated into some kind of morality, we shall shortly find ourselves separated from our God. In so far as separation policy can be an act of love, we are not so greatly concerned; but if separation policy becomes the act of fear or of self-interest, we fear that we shall shut ourselves off from God. It is this knowledge, I believe, which prevents many of us from regarding separation policy as an act desired by God, no matter how lofty may be some of the motives inspiring it.

There is another possibility that

must be considered, and that is that the failure of a Church to show forth the unity of mankind may result in its decay. The growth of strong African sections of both Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Churches is to be attributed to the devoted work of missionaries rather than to the examples of other Christians. But it is difficult to keep the convert's eyes on Christ so that he will not have a chance to look at Christians. The missionary Churches of the world which have a great knowledge of Africa and a great desire to see it Christian watch with hope and fear the behavior of white Christian Churches on the continent; and believe that the white Christian inhabitants of Africa have it in their power to bring missionary work to an end, not by withholding their gifts, but by withholding their love.

It must also be considered possible that the Christian standpoint that morality has no end but to serve the ends of love may bring a Church into conflict with the State. It must be considered possible that a Church, in its attempts to achieve the outward and visible expressions of love, might come into conflict with a State morality that disapproves of such attempts. In that case there is nothing to do but humbly to seek the will of God, and to do it. Our Lord advised or commanded us to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." But we have no certitude that the choice

would ever be posed so finally and so fatefully. In that case it would be the duty of any Church, alone or in company, to seek the will of God for itself, and to do it.

The fearful thing about the Christian morality of love is not its gentleness but its uncompromisingness. How magnificent it would be to achieve Christian unity in South Africa, and how important! How magnificent it would be if, with our social arrangements, we could achieve the divine arrangement!

How magnificent it would be to free ourselves from the corruption of history, or to render the right things unto Caesar, and the right things unto God, and both approve us. But until this heaven be realized on this earth, and even while we try to realize this heaven on this earth, we have our persisting duty to be obedient to the law of love. Therefore, while we strive to obey the laws, this is our law; and while we wish to serve the State, Christ is our Lord. There is no other way for a Church.

TOWN IN ILLINOIS EDUCATES MIGRANT CHILDREN—AND ITSELF

By LOUISA R. SHOTWELL, Associate Secretary, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches. Reprinted with permission from The Christian Science Monitor, September 7, 1951.

EVERYBODY in Hoopeston knows about Amado Martinez. If you saw Amado, you would wonder what it is about this slender, brown fifteen-year-old with the soft speech and gentle smile that makes him a center of interest in a town of 6,000.

"He's a freshman in John Greer High School, that's what!" a Hoopes-tonite will tell you. "And that's

news. Big news. First one of these Texas migrants we've ever had in our high school. Came up with his folks this spring to snap asparagus. Win-ters, Amado lives down in Starr County in Texas. In between cotton-picking he goes to school; finishes all eight grades. He comes up here and goes right into regular classes in our high school along with our kids. Does

right well, too, the teachers say. Goes to the freshman party and has a fine time."

Maybe you think it strange that Hoopeston should be so excited and proud about Amado and about the other ninety-three Texas Mexicans who attended its elementary schools for twenty-six days last May. Isn't this a free country? And isn't public education one of those rights we take for granted in democratic America? Well, it wasn't always true in Hoopeston, Illinois.

Crisscrossed by Rails

Ninety-nine miles south from Lake Michigan and nine miles from the Indiana border, a gray water tower on stilts rises from the level, fertile fields to tell you that here you are in Hoopeston. Midway through the town the tracks of the Chicago & Eastern Illinois intersect the east-west freight line of the Nickel Plate, dividing the town into four quarters.

In the southeast quarter, plenty of elms and maples and wide-porched white houses speak of prosperity and comfortable retirement. And here stands the fine new Maple Elementary School. The houses in the northeast quarter are a little newer and a little smaller. There are a modern brick apartment house and another elementary school, the Honeywell, also new and fine. And the third and oldest school is Lincoln, in the southwest quarter.

On the wide main street, well-

stocked store windows proclaim a good business town. There is industry too, across the tracks to the west near the Lincoln School—food machinery and farm equipment, grain and lumber and coal, a bottling plant and iron works. But most important to this story are the two big canneries.

Native-born Workers

For out there in Vermilion County, the "sweet-corn capital of the world," these two canning companies raise their own asparagus and tomatoes and corn to process in their factories. When spring comes and right on through the summer, they need a lot of hands for harvest. During the war years they ran short of local labor, and they found the answer in prisoners of war. Along in 1946, the prisoners were sent back to Germany, and again there weren't enough local workers who wanted seasonal jobs in the fields. Following the lead of growers in Michigan and Minnesota, the companies brought in Spanish-speaking families from the Southwest.

Most of these Latin-American families never had even been to Mexico; they were native-born American citizens, some for three and four generations back. But they had brown skins; they understood little English and spoke less. In a town where a "foreigner" is a man from Kentucky, these were foreigners indeed.

Hoopeston raised its eyebrows and

locked its doors; it put up signs. When the migrants went to the movies, a sign and an usher sent them to the balcony; when they went to the park, they sat in a special place marked off; and they didn't go to the swimming pool at all.

Today all that is changed. One by one the barriers have come down. The migrants sit where they please in the movies and their children enjoy the swimming pool. They are welcome everywhere in the park, and when the migrant boys' soft-ball team plays regular games there with the resident team, the town turns out to watch and cheer.

Six years ago you could analyze

the community attitude as a composite of curiosity, resentment, hostility, and fear. Now it ranges from the indifference of a few to the cordial interest and friendly concern of many. What has made the difference? One person will say that the personnel managers of the two canning companies won't tolerate any nonsense in their camps; their migrants are well-behaved. Another one will tell you that Dr. Fliesser has done a lot, maybe because he's Jewish himself and may have known what it's like to be one of a minority group; he insists the migrants are people just like the rest of us, and he arranged it so they can have their babies in the



Courtesy, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches

Danville hospital and not out there in the camps. Or Verne Western, who goes out of his way to say how much he likes to have them come into his supply store.

The businessmen began to see that when crops were running good these people had money to spend and were good customers.

The churches took an interest. Somebody heard that the Home Missions Council, an agency representing twenty-three denominations, worked in migrant camps across the country. Through the good offices of the Illinois Council of Churches and the cordial co-operation of the two canneries, in 1947 it sent in a community worker to set up a program in the camps.

A Wellesley College graduate with a master's degree from Chicago Theological Seminary, Helen Meserve, set out with zeal to make friends with these visitors from Texas and to set up nursery schools for their children. Churchwomen and their husbands volunteered to help, and the next year saw the formation of a community committee.

Gradual Change

Up to 1949, the changes in community attitudes came about gradually. Still there had been no suggestion of migrant children going to school. But Miss Meserve and her committee members worried about those children and the haphazard chance they have for education.

When they leave Illinois in September, a lot of the families stop in Arkansas for cotton-picking, and hit Texas maybe in late November. In school a few weeks here and three months there, and sometimes not at all, it is no wonder they don't learn English very fast, or much of anything else. So in the summer of 1949, Miss Meserve and her staff held a make-up school for the children of both camps.

The following April, the Home Missions Council sent in a Spanish-speaking worker, Connie Hernandez. She and Mrs. Clayton Jones, cochairman of the community committee, found that many of the mothers were anxious to have their children go to school.

A census was taken and sixty children of school age were discovered. Through the co-operation of the personnel directors of the two canneries and the school superintendent, and financial assistance of the state which made it possible to secure an extra teacher, the necessary clearances were made to send these sixty children to Lincoln School, the one nearest the migrant camps.

Fireworks—at First

The word got around and the fireworks began. Yet even if some of its citizens are a little slow to accept all that it means to live in a democratic society, Hoopston believes in the democratic method; and the school board called a public meeting.

The group first talked about putting up a special school, and then they realized there wasn't any money to build one and no place to put it, and at last somebody remembered that Illinois has a law against segregated schools. Then Elmer Unger, president of the school board, came up with a proposal to spread the children around in all three elementary schools. That helped some, but it didn't satisfy the ones who were afraid of contagious diseases' being brought in.

This final objection was met by having the children submit to medical examinations the next morning. Happily, the day after that the sixty Texas Mexicans went to school.

Anybody who has ever taught school knows that no story ends with opening the doors to sixty extra children on the first of May. For the teachers, that is only the beginning. It was a happy day for Hoopeston's Texas migrants when Mrs. Lowell Mitchell accepted the appointment as special teacher for those thirty-five who could not be absorbed into regular classes. In age they ranged from six to fifteen; in achievement, from grades one to six. Twelve of them spoke no English at all.

Miss Hernandez helped with the twelve who knew no English. For the others, Mrs. Mitchell found a ready and devoted interpreter in Albert Garza, a bilingual second grader. But even Albert had never had experience with many ordinary words.

Long-time Problem

Texas educators have wrestled for many years with the problem of teaching the Spanish-speaking population. The question has peculiar poignance for children in the first few grades, for they have no adequate language tool in either Spanish or English.

Radio, television, and even movies form a small part of the background of these migrant boys and girls; few have ever used a telephone. Their horizon is bounded by asparagus and corn in Illinois, cotton in Texas, and the three-day truck ride between. Perhaps this explains why the school period just after lunch became the favorite hour of the day. For then they spent thirty minutes all together marveling at colored slides and filmstrips; and the next half hour they talked in English about what they had seen. The three favorites in order lined up as *Cinderella*, *Life of the Indians*, and *Bathing Time for Baby*.

Joint use of the playground posed no problems. The native deference and courtesy of the Spanish group carried over as the resident children accepted the visitors into their games.

Opposition Vanishes

To Mrs. Mitchell every one of the thirty-five became a person in his own right as she guided each one to think of himself as a responsible member of his group. Through her patient ingenuity, school became a

center of doing, creating, sharing, enjoying.

On the twenty-sixth school day, the closing session of the year, each child received a grade card, certifying his attendance and indicating his progress and his rating.

In the spring of 1951, nobody raised any question at all. Again the children were given physical examinations, and the *Chronicle-Herald* reported a total of 94: 25 in Honeywell, 62 in Lincoln, 6 in Maple, and 1—Amado Martinez—in John Greer High School. The newspaper story continues: "The teachers see many familiar faces. Music and physical education classes are held with the town children. One Hoopeston youngster was heard complaining because there were no Latin-American children in his room."

Now the community committee has become the Hoopeston Migrant Council. On it sit the personnel men from the two canning companies; representatives of the medical association, the ministerial association, and the chamber of commerce; and sixteen church delegates, two from each of eight churches. It has been gratifying to see how denominational lines have broken down in the course of learning to know the migrants as people.

No longer does the council depend on the Home Missions Council (now the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches) for financial help. Its budget has

been oversubscribed with gifts from the canneries, the Church, individual businessmen, and the migrants themselves. This money makes available a minister and two college students recruited and trained by the Division of Home Missions, and pays for film rentals and craft equipment.

Apart from snapping asparagus, detasseling corn, and picking tomatoes, summer in the camps is a busy time. The program includes a regular schedule of English classes, nursery school, mothers' clubs, sewing groups, family nights, thrift sales, story hours.

Through the churches the Migrant Council circulates questionnaires to those who want to volunteer their help, asking them to specify the days and hours they will be available and giving a check list of needed services: run movie projector, chaperone teen-age parties, tell stories, teach sewing, take groups to swimming pool, and so on.

Every year life in the camps becomes a little easier because the canneries make some improvements in the housing; new screens, more adequate garbage disposal, extra shower and laundry facilities.

Hoopeston knows that it is a fortunate town, not only because it has the laborers it needs to harvest its crops, but also because the presence of these Spanish-speaking neighbors gives the townspeople a chance to join hands in a common concern to make the visitors feel at home.

JIM ROBINSON AND JIM CROWISM

By JOSEPH J. COPELAND, *Minister, Second Presbyterian Church, Knoxville, Tennessee; member Board of Christian Education and Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*

A SOUTHERN town in northern Texas!

A college town in a cattle community! A paradox of people! We're the home of two large state colleges. Optimistic aggression exists right alongside of conservatism. Youth walk down the street with age. Advocates of revolution (drastic change) and advocates of evolution (slow change) move side by side. Our population is 21,000, with about 1,300 of them Negro and 6,000 of them white students in the two colleges.

But there is no hotel in our town to house a Negro. Dr. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master in New York City, a member of our Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, trained at Lincoln University, a graduate of Union Seminary, and one of America's greatest interracial leaders, was coming to our town at the invitation of the session and the church.

Already arrangements had been made for Dr. Robinson to be the guest in the Westminster Foundation house, but illness in the director's home prevented completion and perfection in this regard. The session, in

a called meeting, discussed the matter of "being Christian in a legally non-Christian environment." "I'd count it a privilege to have him as our guest in our home," came from one of the elders.

That was that! That was that because of the kind of elder he is—beloved by the entire church, academically respected by the faculty and administration of his college, beyond reproach and criticism in all of his personal life. If any objection was in the budding, it was immediately nipped because of the personality and the dedication of the elder involved.

Nonsegregation in the Church

But what about the meeting in the sanctuary which the session had planned? Jim Robinson had just returned from a trip around the world—Europe, the Near East, India, Pakistan, Japan, Thailand, China, and the Philippines. Jim Robinson, an ordained Presbyterian minister, an intellectual Christian leader, that night stepped into a Texas pulpit and faced a full church, Negro and white together, anxiously awaiting his message. He spoke for two hours!

And they wouldn't go home! Forty members of the high school choir from the public school sat attentively for this two-hour period and wanted still more. The meeting was officially dismissed by persuasion. But when Jim Robinson returned from the front entrance where he had spoken personally to approximately three hundred people, he found another eighty or one hundred waiting in the sanctuary, desiring to dig deeper into some of the insights he had shared with them. Finally, the tower clock on the courthouse was tolling eleven when the visiting pastor of the neighboring First Baptist Church was thanking God for the valuable experience of the evening.

As the second group left that night a little past eleven, the pastor of the First Methodist Church said, "This is the best thing that has happened to this entire community in the past decade."

But there were those who stayed away because of the dark color of Jim Robinson's skin. What about them? Was there trouble brewing? Was there difficulty in the offing? No! For the ones who had heard took care of the ones who had heard not. The talk of the town was the talk of Jim Robinson.

So humbly, and yet so vividly and dramatically, he painted the issues confronting Christianity around the world: "You cannot be a student in the eastern zone of Germany unless you carry a Communist party card.

Communism is a far more serious threat to the world than we are willing to believe." So clearly and so forcefully he challenged us American Christians: "We must learn something of the wisdom of God, and the wisdom of Christ, and something of the skill of true democratic people!" So accurately did he direct toward Christian attitudes that color consciousness, class consciousness, and creed consciousness was conquered—at least for a while! His presence and this meeting did good. It encouraged a feeling of real pride in our Negro people who heard him, and justly so. It revealed to our congregation that God did not notice the skin color when he endowed man with mental potentialities. It encouraged local interracial groups to hope to plan carefully, wait patiently, and pray fervently.

It voiced the truth that all cannot be done in the minute, but that no Christian can waste any minute in doing all within his power for a more Christian relationship between the races of our one world. It made clear that certain steps can be taken without dividing the church, or doing damage to community relationships, provided the right individuals take the leadership and make full use of the democratic process. The decisions and arrangements for Dr. Robinson's visit were made not by one individual but, rather, with the full consideration and consent of the session of the church.

Sanctuary

A DAY OF POLITICAL DECISION

Call to Worship:

"Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches: But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."—*Jer. 9: 23-29.*

Invocation:

O Thou eternal Spirit, who hast set our noisy years in the heart of thine eternity, lift us above the strife and clamor of the passing hour, that under the guidance of thy Spirit we may possess a wisdom which the world cannot give and an integrity which is rooted in thy righteousness. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Scripture: Matthew 22: 15-22.

A New Testament Platform for a Political Party:

1. We will never seek special advantages for our own particular interests, but will always have in mind the total good of the country.
2. We will never permit our judgment to be swayed by wealthy or powerful interests, but will always stand for right and justice, even though it be unpopular to do so.
3. We will not hesitate to break with outworn customs, beliefs, or practices, even though we be branded as dangerously radical.
4. We will never engage in dissembling or in mealy-mouthed double talk, but will always speak the truth as forthrightly as possible.
5. We will never shy away from denouncing wickedness in high places in our own party, even though it be dangerous to do so.
6. We will never permit a man to be attacked unfairly, nor will we impute evil to him by association, but will deal with every man as we expect him to deal with us.
7. We will not seek the chief places on committees, but will ask only the opportunity to be of the greatest service.
8. We will never condone practices anywhere which consign a man to a place of inferiority because of his race, color, or creed, but will always champion human rights.
9. We will never use the strength of America nor the power of its wealth to coerce the weak, but always to lighten their burdens.
10. We will not practice "America first" in our dealings with others, but will always stand on the principle that God chooses some for special responsibility and will seek first his Kingdom and his righteousness.

The Hidden Adversary

"In storied Venice, down whose rippling streets
The stars go hurrying, and the white moon beats,
Stood the great Bell Tower, fronting seas and skies—
Fronting the ages, drawing all men's eyes;
Rooted like Teneriffe, aloft and proud,
Taunting the lightning, tearing the flying cloud.

"It marked the hours for Venice; all men said
Time cannot reach to bow that lofty head:
Time that shall touch all else with ruin must
Forbear to make this shaft confess its dust.
Yet all the while, in secret, without sound,
The fat worms gnawed the timbers underground.

"The twisting worm, whose epoch is an hour,
Caverned its way into the mighty tower;
And suddenly it shook, it swayed, it broke,
And fell in darkening thunder at one stroke.
The strong shaft, with an angel on the crown,
Fell ruining; a thousand years went down! . . .

"I fear the vermin that shall undermine
Senate and citadel and school and shrine—
The worm of Greed, the fatted Worm of Ease,
And all the crawling progeny of these—
The vermin that shall honeycomb the towers
And walls of state in unsuspecting hours."

—By Edwin Markham. Reprinted with permission.

Prayer:

"O God, Thou great governor of all the world, . . . strengthen the sense of duty in our political life. Grant that the servants of the state may feel ever more deeply that any diversion of their public powers for private ends is a betrayal of their country. Purge our cities and states and nation of the deep causes of corruption which have so often made sin profitable and uprightness hard. Bring to an end the stale days of party cunning. Breathe a new spirit into all our nation. Lift us from the dust and mire of the past that we may gird ourselves for a new day's work. Give our leaders a new vision of the possible future of our country and set their hearts on fire with large resolves. Raise up a new generation of public men, who will have the faith and daring of the Kingdom of God in their hearts, and who will enlist for life in a holy warfare for the freedom and rights of the people."

—From *Prayers of the Social Awakening*, by Walter Rauschenbusch. Copyright. Used by permission.

Benediction: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren."

—Prepared by Paul Silas Heath, General Presbyter, Buffalo-Niagara Presbytery; member, Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION OF THE 164TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MAY 28, 1952

IN THIS time of social, economic, and political change, when revolutions are taking place, and human relationships are in upheaval, our entire culture, as well as every individual, stands under the judgment of God and is challenged to righteousness, justice, equity, and good will by Jesus Christ, the Lord of life.

The Christian Church occupies a unique relationship to our culture because of the history of its influence and the claims it makes as the Body of Christ, the Light, the Hope, and the Saviour of the world. If the Church is to be the Body of Christ in our present world, it must make its clear and unequivocal witness for the redemption of men and society.

To what extent the condition of this war-ravaged, fearful, and troubled world is the result of the failure of the Church is an open question. But in humility, repentance, and sorrow, the Church should confess its sins of omission and commission which have contributed in any way to the conflicts, injustices, prejudices, and evils of our generation.

Let the Church strive to speak the mind of Christ as it is understood and applied to the social situations of our day.

Over the past decade (1940-1950), our thought and action have been guided by General Assembly action. Our Church's social pronouncements have dealt with a great variety of issues. These pronouncements will continue to be the mandate for the Department and the focus of study and action by our churches.

The Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of the 164th General Assembly calls the Church's attention to the issues that are particularly pertinent this year and recommends the following action:

The Formation of Public Opinion and the Church

In a society responsible to God and committed to the democratic procedures of education and free debate, the need for informed public opinion is crucial. The present struggle of conflicting ideologies and economic systems in our world demands unfettered search for truth and responsible use of all means of communicating ideas to the American people.

The far-reaching influence of mass media of communication (movies, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television) in determining public attitudes and policy imposes a sober duty on the individuals and groups controlling such forms of communication.

We alert the Church to the urgency of this problem and its task of influencing and utilizing all channels of communication. Therefore—

1. We enjoin our churches to make wider and more creative use of modern mass media to spread the gospel to modern man, and to intensify their efforts to help children, youth, and adults to seek and find the truth and face the complex issues of these times with minds responsive to God.
2. We urge the churches, presbyteries, and presbyterial organizations to bring their influence to bear upon the managers of radio and TV stations, the editors and publishers of newspapers and magazines, and advertising agencies, to hold them accountable for impartial reporting of news, honest interpretation of current issues, and responsible portrayal of life's values.
3. We call attention to the urgency and importance of the religious press to

present information and points of view not ordinarily interpreted by secular journals. We urge the members of our churches to make wider use of SOCIAL PROGRESS and other program material prepared by the Department of Social Education and Action.

4. We direct the Department of Social Education and Action to interpret this concern for the use of mass media to the churches and to develop projects of study and research in this area.

Human Rights and Personal Freedom

We have professed to believe that every individual as a child of God is of supreme importance and is entitled to live in dignity, freedom, and equality among his fellow men. But we humbly confess that our practices fall far short of Christ's commandment of love and often violate even the minimum freedoms set forth in our Bill of Rights.

In Our National and Community Life

Freedom of conscience, of inquiry, and of expression is being challenged and curtailed by a blinding fear of subversive forces.

Good reputations are sometimes undermined by methods of public investigation that cast suspicion without the protection of a court trial. Men are declared unfit for positions of public trust on the basis of unsubstantiated charges that they are "bad risks" or because they have become "controversial personalities." The concept of "guilt by association" is flagrantly used to charge disloyalty in the face of the long-established American doctrine that guilt before the law is personal and cannot be imputed on the basis of relationship or association. Loyalty oaths in many cases have become forms of thought control and have failed to recognize the full implications of false witness in dealing with vital national issues and with the loyalties of men and women in public life. Passports are sometimes denied with

no reason given and no hearing granted.

The right to fair and equal treatment by due process of law is too frequently flouted by illegal detention of suspected persons, police brutalities, and other injustices perpetrated on members of minority groups in the custody of the courts.

We should recognize the seriousness of these denials of human rights which help to tear down the whole structure of freedom and equality in America. The unmistakable trend toward authoritarianism and thought control can be halted only by the study and action of a great body of people committed to the cause of freedom under God. Therefore—

1. We call on each church in the coming year to face these issues, and by prayer, fact-finding, and thoughtful consideration to find the Christian course.
2. We urge the churches to investigate infringements of human rights and personal liberties in their own communities and to act in concert with other churches and civic groups in stopping them.
3. We call upon American citizens and their elected leaders to recognize their responsibility fearlessly to promote our democratic processes and to reaffirm our heritage of freedom.
4. We recognize that the Declaration of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. for a non-segregated church and a nonsegregated society represents a particularly significant contribution to the structure of human freedoms. We note with gratitude the formation of interracial churches in San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and elsewhere. We urge the elimination of segregated synods, presbyteries, and particular congregations within our denomination. We call upon Congress to eliminate segregation within our nation's capital. We urge church members to press Congressmen and Sena-

tors to support civil rights legislation which will help to eliminate from other parts of our community and national life those discrepancies in our practice which embarrass our efforts on behalf of a free world.

5. We urge members of our churches to make a careful study of the new handbook on racial and cultural relations, *Everyone Welcome*, published by the Department of Social Education and Action.

In Our World Community

We recognize that the peace of the world cannot be secured until international measures to safeguard human rights and personal freedoms have been adopted by our nation and all other nations.

1. We call upon the members of our churches to pledge themselves anew to denounce the divisive forces that seek to destroy community and concord in the world, thwart the working of the United Nations, and impede adoption by this country of international measures to safeguard human freedom.

2. We reaffirm our Church's position and urge the prompt ratification by the United States Senate of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. We believe that to safeguard the right of a national group or race to survive is a minimal standard of freedom. (The Covenant on Genocide has been adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations and ratified by 36 member nations, making it international law, but the United States has not reported it out of committee because there has been no body of opinion mobilized in the United States to convince the Congress that there is interest in support of this measure.)

3. We call upon our Government and the member states of the United Nations to apply the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

in the administration of United Nations trusteeship territories, believing that by such administration the political, social, and economic advancement of the inhabitants of these territories may be more fully achieved and their progress assured toward self-government and eventual independence. Since the United States has been awarded wardship of a group of islands in the Pacific, we have a special responsibility for pressing for those human freedoms in the territories for which we are responsible.

4. We call upon all the churches to study the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its implementation in the Covenant of Human Rights now being drafted. Such study is required to prepare churchmen to act on this treaty measure when it comes before the American Senate.

5. We urge the United States delegation to the United Nations to press for the completion of the proposed covenants of Human Rights to include the full orbit of political, social, religious, and economic freedoms for individuals and groups.

6. We urge continued support of the world-wide missionary outreach of our Church, and would remind the Church of the universal nature of its calling. This is our Father's world. We would encourage every undertaking, every prayer, every aspiration which makes men of different nations and races aware of their kinship under God.

7. We note with apprehension that the movement in many parts of the world from a caste society to a free society is being endangered by the drive to the garrison state. If the technological advance which we have achieved in the world is to raise the standard of living and promote understanding and accord among nations, positive measures of world co-operation rather than military force must be supported.

The Church and the United Nations

Recalling the significant contribution of Protestant Church leadership to the formation of the United Nations, we reaffirm our support of and responsibility for world order through the United Nations.

It is the continuing conviction of our Church that

1. The United Nations should be in fact, as well as in word, a cornerstone of American foreign policy, and not an instrument of convenience to be used or ignored as expediency requires.

2. The United Nations should be the main reliance of this nation for the realization of U.S. security objectives. Arrangements made unilaterally or regionally should square with the larger scheme of collective security founded in the Charter of the United Nations.

3. The proposals for disarmament adopted by the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations at Paris in 1951 at the initiation of our Government, Great Britain, and France are a good beginning toward asserting our real objectives to all the world. We urge the U. S. Government to continue in this course so that our true goal of building a structure for permanent peace may be realized.

4. The Technical Assistance program of the United Nations and the Point Four program of our Government should be strengthened and expanded now so that economic and social justice within and between nations may become a reality. With two thirds of our fellow men living in underdeveloped regions of the world, such programs are of greater significance to the hope of a free world than the development of military strength.

5. The strength of the United Nations depends upon the informed support of Christian people of the world and especially of this country; that it is im-

portant for Church people to become leaders in their communities in the development of United Nations associations and similar groups working for peace on a Christian basis; and further, that it is the responsibility of our churches to arrange certain study programs using such materials as the study book *Let Us Live for God and the Nations*.

Ethics and Government

Politics are inseparable from other aspects of American life. We cannot reasonably expect from public officials very much higher standards of integrity and personal conduct than those maintained and demanded by their constituencies.

Many American citizens have no real sense of responsibility to the whole society. Members of Federal and state legislative bodies are often under pressure by self-seeking groups. These predatory interests sometimes restrict our political representatives from serving the welfare of all the people.

The basic corruption in American society is not that revealed by tax frauds, the sale of influence or official protection of crime. These are symptoms of a deeper, more pervasive social malaise. The fundamental corruption lies in the loss of faith largely because too many men no longer take God into account. With this has come a weakening of the social dynamic, a loss of a sense of purpose, a fading of confidence in ourselves and our institutions, and a failure to develop a sense of responsibility to the larger society and to our fellow human beings.

Every betrayal of public trust threatens the foundations of our democratic society and, if unchallenged and uncorrected by an aroused and enlightened public conscience, these practices will undermine and finally destroy the highly cherished features of our culture. To this end—

1. We call upon the Church to set before the nation the command of God for truth and honor at the very heart of our private and public morality. Only so can there be stability of personal character and durability of our valued social institutions.

2. We call upon the members of our churches to recognize with humility and contrition that the gross evils and major corruptions which we deplore in national life have their counterpart in our own petty indulgences and minor deviations from truth and honesty; the shocking and dramatic manifestations of social evils are sustained in the unchallenged, and sometimes unrecognized, duplicities of nominal Christians.

Inflation

The inflation that has occurred in our economy is of moral concern to the Church and the nation because it threatens to undermine the strength of the nation and thus the ability, in the part of the people, to assume moral and social responsibility. Also it brings severe hardship on many groups; such as the aged, persons with fixed income, workers with low wages, and many of our religious, educational, and welfare institutions, without bringing permanent good to any group. Inflation discourages efforts at assuming responsibilities through personal savings and it creates an atmosphere of passing responsibilities to public agencies. It stimulates temptation to escape present responsibilities by accepting false monetary values.

It is important to observe that in the world's struggle between free peoples and the forces of Communism, the Communists anticipate the collapse of our economic system as the opportunity for revolution. Thus a strong, equitable, and dependable economic condition is necessary to preservation of our American way of life.

The inflation from which so many peo-

ple suffer is the result of our great war production and the extensive imbalance between purchasing power and consumer goods. This "emergency" threatens to become a continuing characteristic of our economy until the international situation with its many conflicts and uncertainties improves, and the fear of military aggression and world war subsides.

Another cause of inflation is that of Government practices such as inefficiency in the operation of government; a waste in military expenditures; failure to enact tax laws to balance the budget in prosperous years; and deliberate inflationary policies¹ resulting from political pressures to create a false sense of prosperity; and the desire to liquidate the high national debt with cheaper money. Inflation also results from patterns of living based on the stimulated desires for many luxuries and an increasingly "higher" material standard of living.

It is recommended that—

1. The Government be urged to enact measures that will stop present inflationary trends; and that all groups of people in the nation be urged to cooperate voluntarily toward equity and stability in our economic life.

2. The Government be urged to maintain a rate of taxation consistent with keeping the national economy strong, this being particularly important in times of prosperity, in order to provide strength for periods of economic recession.

The Church and Industrial Relations

Our churches too often fail to minister across economic lines to all groups in their communities. We urge every church to seek an effective ministry to laboring people, and to bring together in Christian fellowship men and women from all occupations and walks of life.

1. We note with gratitude a trend in industry toward improved working conditions, and better labor relations.

2. We urge a greater emphasis upon free collective bargaining in labor-management relations, with decisions mutually and voluntarily arrived at, rather than reliance on public agencies for decisions. Moral values are often more clearly discerned when labor and management realize their common cause and responsibility.

3. We suggest that Presbyterian laymen participate more actively in management organizations and labor unions as an expression of Christian vocation.

Christian Citizenship in a Year of Election

In drafting our Constitution our founding fathers drew upon the knowledge of government gained in organizing and operating churches in the colonies. Anticipating the tendency of all government to increase in authority, they provided that all powers not delegated to Congress and to the President were reserved to the states and to the people.

Representative democracies leave ultimate authority to the people. The right to vote and to participate in the orderly democratic processes of our representative government constitutes essential elements of our American heritage. Citizenship is a trust in the exercise of which we are called to be faithful stewards. Too often churchmen have been silent on political issues when they should have spoken courageously. Too often they have been aloof and indifferent when they should have taken resourceful leadership. The price of liberty under law is a devoted and intelligent people prepared to act with conviction.

We earnestly call upon Christian laymen:

1. To become active in the political life of their communities from the precinct level upward.

2. To nominate and vote for courageous, qualified, and high-principled citizens who will work for the good of all.

3. To study the social, economic, and political issues that give rise to political parties, and to take part in drafting constructive party platforms.

4. To refrain from spreading unfounded and malicious rumors, and repeating campaign slogans which tend to vilify candidates and obscure the vital issues.

5. While the Presbyterian Church recognizes the need of the nation for military conscription in time of national emergency, we reaffirm our historic opposition to UMT as a permanent peacetime program. We call upon the members of our churches to study carefully the pending legislation relative to UMT and to convey their views to their Senators and Representatives.

Commendation and Call

The foregoing resolutions are without vitality and effectiveness unless the churches and church members put them into action where they live. The materials for education and action are available; the chief need is for the mobilization of our forces for decisive action in our homes, churches, and communities, in our nation and in our world.

We, therefore, call upon our Church with its well-developed organization, its tremendous resources of leadership and influence, its attested sense of mission, to become increasingly the instrument and vehicle of God for the accomplishment of his all-pervading justice, honesty, and truth in every phase of our common life.

We recommend that the General Assembly call the churches to see these things as our Lord feels them and to act with courage to achieve our Christian purpose.

—Floyd E. McGuire, Chairman

The full report, entitled *Christian Social Action, 1952* will be available without cost from the Presbyterian Distribution Service late in the summer.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

Lessons from Groveland

Jesse Walter Dees, Jr., Professor of Sociology at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, has made a thorough study of the race incident in Groveland, Florida. As a result, he has the following suggestions to make to the church and the community.

The events in Groveland carry some valuable lessons for the Church, not only for the State of Florida, but for the entire South and the nation as a whole.

What We Can Do

About the Law:

Know the laws of our state and communities which protect minorities.

Work for the repeal or amendment of existing laws which practice discrimination.

Visit our jails and the courts, and make our influence felt for equal justice for all.

Work for the appointment of Negro policemen and for the right of Negroes to hold political office and civic positions.

Commend public officials when they respect minorities and show courage and integrity.

Call to the attention of authorities any violations known to us.

About the Vote:

Do your part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.

Oppose state registration that threatens the security of any voters.

Encourage political executive commit-

tees to train all workers in the proper performance of their duties.

Encourage all minority groups to vote.

Offer your services as election officials.

Vote for candidates who are known to be fair to all groups.

About Public Opinion:

Sign a pledge affirming in personal relations and religious and civic work your conviction of the dignity of all human beings and your support of the ideal of equal justice for all.

Support and **encourage** pastors and church leaders who offer progressive leadership in human relations in your community.

Discuss minority problems with local newspaper editors; write to the editors and commend them for fair news reporting and their good works.

Investigate—Do not spread rumors.

Encourage local school systems to cooperate in using materials and resources to build better human relations.

Make Race-Relations Sunday a 52-weeks-a-year proposition.

Begin on a small scale an institute or committee on race relations.

Endorse the home town self-survey as a means of self-education and constructive action.

Hold frequent prayer groups.

About Getting Your Church on Record:

Speak out in the local press, radio, and church publications against all prejudice and discrimination.

Hold meetings and conventions and make an official pronouncement on human rights.

Give Rural Children a Chance

To help the people of the rural communities to fulfill their responsibility for the education of their children, the Department of Labor's bulletin—*Help Get Children Into School and Out of Farm Jobs During School Hours* (No. 128)—suggests various methods of providing ways to get rural children into school. The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., is one of the thirty-one national organizations joining with the Department of Labor in sponsoring this material.

The pamphlet urges citizen groups to take action with their neighbors for the protection of children in agriculture.

The President has called to the attention of Congress the inadequate educational opportunities for children of migratory workers. If Congress votes the special appropriation of \$181,000 recommended by the President, the U.S. Office of Education is prepared to undertake a research-and-action program directed toward identifying, understanding, and helping to meet the educational needs of migratory agricultural workers and their children.

New York Migrant Problem

The Migrant Program of the Protestant Churches began here in New York State with child care centers in the early '30's. Now the Child Care Program is under the supervision of the state. With a summer staff of migrant chaplains and student

service units, a program of religious services, recreation, and education is carried on in the camps. Last year, our program reached over 5,000 agricultural migrants and their families living in some 30 camps. We really have a long way to go, for there are nearly 30,000 migrants living in over 400 camps just in New York State. This ministry to migrants is made possible through the co-operative efforts of the Division of Home Missions and the State Council of Churches.—*Kathryn Leaf, Supervisor, State Migrant Program.*

Hope in Westminster

For three years the congregation of San Francisco's Hope Presbyterian Church, rapidly growing in size, has been looking for a proper church building. A dozen blocks away from the Hope Church's temporary quarters, the Westminster Presbyterian Church was having the opposite problem. Its fifty-seven-year-old building was big and roomy but, as the neighborhood changed, the number of parishioners had dwindled.

Recently, members of the two congregations began to discuss their respective problems, decided on a merger. This week most of the forty members of the Westminster congregation, all whites, and most of the sixty members of the Hope congregation, all Negroes, sat down together in the Westminster Church, officially united. For their minister they chose Rev. Wesley L. Hawes, a Negro, pastor of the old Hope congregation.—*Reprinted by permission of Time, May 12, 1952.*

Citizenship

Corruption in Government

The House Judiciary Committee has approved a measure (H.J.Res. 410) authorizing the President to appoint an independent corruption investigator and three deputies, who would be required to

secure court approval of subpoenas for witnesses and records needed. An amendment to the resolution provides for Senate confirmation of the investigator and his deputies. At press time, the measure was on the House calendar with no assurance of action in this session.

Liquor Advertising

By a close vote of 7 to 6 the Senate Commerce Committee has rejected the Johnson-Case Bill (April issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*), which would have prohibited the advertising of liquor on radio and television. In all probability this sounds the death knell for the bill in this session of Congress.

UNICEF

As we go to press, the situation in regard to this legislation is as follows: The President requested \$24 million to cover 1951-1953; the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved \$20.9 million; the House Foreign Affairs Committee has approved only \$12 million and has added two provisions stating that the U.S. should contribute no more than one third of the total amount contributed and that none of the money should be used to duplicate other UN activities.

The lag in contributions to this fund by the United States over the past two years has created for it a serious financial crisis, and it is to be hoped that floor action in both Houses will soon alleviate some of the distress. (See "Foreign Aid" below for latest developments.)

Immigration

The McCarran and Walter immigration bills (May issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*) have passed their respective Houses without major changes and at press time had been sent to a conference committee for reconciliation of differences between the two bills. The McCarran Bill was hotly contested on the floor of the Senate, and there are predictions by its opponents that the President may veto it. If so, they think they can muster sufficient votes to sustain the veto. This is by no means certain, however, and as we go to press there has been no indication from the White House as to the President's position on the matter.

Refugees

Hearings began on May 22 on the Cellar Bill to carry out the proposal of the President to admit to this country over the next three years 300,000 extra immigrants and refugees from Communist aggression (May issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*). There is strong opposition to this legislation in Congress, and there seems little likelihood of its passage at this session.

Treaties (Genocide)

A Senate subcommittee has begun hearings on S.J.Res. 130, which proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties and executive agreements. This resolution was introduced by Senator Bricker (R., Ohio) and co-sponsored by fifty-seven other Senators.

The resolution provides: (1) that no treaty or executive agreement touch on the Constitutional rights of U.S. citizens; (2) that no treaty would give to any international organization the Constitutional powers of the President, Congress, or the Courts; (3) that no treaty shall alter or abridge Federal or state law except as Congress provides; (4) ascertainment that executive agreements are not made in lieu of treaties.

Federal Aid for School Construction

As we go to press, hearings have not been completed by a subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee which is considering proposals to aid communities to build schools. Dr. Edgar Fuller, representing the National Council of Chief School Officers, has told the subcommittee, "No one can seriously contend that Federal aid for school construction is not needed, or that the need has been exaggerated." He denied that the problem of financial need is concentrated in the Southern states. He said, "While it may be somewhat greater in those states—there is a critical shortage of school facili-

ties in a large majority of the states, regardless of their location."

The chairman of the subcommittee, Rep. Cleveland M. Bailey (D., W. Va.), says he is "fairly confident" that legislation for Federal aid for school construction will reach the House floor this session. Another member of the subcommittee has said, "Start picking on your members of Congress" if you want this legislation passed.

Housing

The Senate has approved a bill (S.3066) granting \$1.5 billion more in housing mortgage authorizations. As approved the

measure provides: \$900 million for FNMA, \$400 million more for FHA, \$112 million for loans and grants for farm housing, \$50 million for Government-built defense housing, \$40 million more for community facilities, \$5 million in loans to the Alaska Housing Authority. The Senate has also approved an increase in the number of public housing units to be built during the next fiscal year. By a 37 to 31 vote the Senate approved a ceiling of 45,000 units. The House had previously voted a ceiling of 5,000, while the President had requested 75,000 units. At press time, the bill was in conference with the final figure in doubt.

Foreign Aid

As we go to press, the conference report on the Foreign Aid bill has passed both Houses and been sent to the President for signature. In final form, the bill has been cut approximately \$1.5 billion dollars below the \$7.9 billion figure requested by the President.

This bill is the authorization measure. The legislation appropriating the money still awaits action, and opponents threaten to try to cut the amount still further at that time.

As finally passed, the following are the amounts asked by the President (listed first) and voted by the Congress (listed second) for the various items:

Military aid for Europe	\$4,145,000,000	\$3,415,614,750
Economic aid for Europe	1,819,200,000	1,282,433,000
Military aid for Near East and Africa	606,370,000	560,316,500
Technical Assistance for Near East and Africa	55,000,000	50,822,750
Arab refugees	65,000,000	60,063,250
Israel refugees	76,000,000	70,228,000
Military aid for Asia and the Pacific	611,230,000	564,807,500
Economic aid for Asia and the Pacific	408,000,000	321,412,500
Military aid for Latin America	62,400,000	57,685,750
Tech. assist. for Latin America	22,000,000	20,329,000
Emigration	10,000,000	9,240,500
Ocean freight	2,800,000	2,578,500
U N Children's Emergency Fund	24,000,000	16,481,000

In addition to the allocation by major areas, the conference agreement authorized \$15,708,750 for Multilateral Technical Assistance Program.

—Helen Lineweaver

About Books

Africans on Safari, by Leslie C. Sayre. Friendship Press. \$2.50.

Africans on Safari, by Leslie C. Sayre, is an interesting, well-written, and easy-reading story of mission work in Central Africa. The title refers to the increasing number of Africa's sons and daughters who are on a spiritual journey to find God and who are also seeking to be "at home" in the new and strange ways of modern civilization.

Dr. Sayre tells his tale through the eyes of a retired clergyman, Rev. Phillip Camborne, who travels to Africa to visit his two sons, one a businessman in Johannesburg, in a gold-mining company, and the other a missionary in the Belgian Congo.

Rev. Mr. Camborne goes by a pleasant sea voyage to Cape Town and soon learns from his ship associates some of the puzzling racial problems and attitudes in South Africa. After a short visit with his son and family in Johannesburg, where his concern over race questions is deepened, he journeys upcountry by train to spend the main part of his visit in the home of his missionary son.

He finds a friendly, co-operative attitude toward the African people and catches the enthusiasm of his son in the loyalty and potentialities of their friends.

Later at home Rev. Mr. Camborne had occasion often to interpret the experience he had had and felt he was continuing the work of his son—being a missionary for Africa in the United States.

The weakest part of the book seems to be the very inadequate presentation of the racial situation in South Africa. Obviously the purpose of the book is to

interpret the missionary enterprise in Central Africa. However, since South Africa is included, it should have had better consideration. Neither the contact of Mr. Camborne's visit nor the too-limited, too-simple description at the close seems in any sense satisfactory to the author of this review, who had the privilege of spending some time in South Africa last summer.

—Mildred Roe

The Modern Rival of Christian Faith; an Analysis of Secularism, by Georgia Harkness. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. \$2.75.

Professor Harkness is one of the most widely read religious authors. This is as it ought to be, for she is both a profound philosopher and theologian and a skillful writer who makes theology live.

As the subtitle implies, this deals with secularism—Christianity's major rival in the world today. The sweeping indictment is justified, and Dr. Harkness skillfully analyzes the basis for the statement. But more important, she spells out what can be done about it.

Secularism is first portrayed clearly alongside of Christianity and the gospel. "Secularism has almost wholly engulfed our culture and is on the way to swallowing up our churches and our souls. We no longer live in 'the Christian West,' but in a mission field ripe for harvest." But the seed of the gospel still has a chance by the power of God to bring forth fruit for our redemption. The chapter on "What Is Christianity?" is a clear and penetrating statement.

Then the rival secular faiths are discussed. Scientism, humanism, democracy,

nationalism, racism, Fascism, and capitalism are analyzed. American life is described and "what is right with modern life" is portrayed. Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will particularly appreciate the section dealing with racism.

This "practical" theologian goes on to a solution and the way out of our situation. She calls for a stronger and more effective program of evangelism and Christian education, as well as the living out in everyday relationships of the Christian faith.

Laymen and pastors will find here a helpful book.

—Gordon W. Mattice

Africa, Continent of the Future, by George E. Haynes. Association Press. \$3.50.

The author of *Africa, Continent of the Future* is well known as the former Secretary of the Race Relations Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, at one time a member of the faculty of Fisk University and active in the Young Men's Christian Association.

This book was written after a survey in 1947 on behalf of the World's Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association as it planned for a program of advance in Africa. During 1947, Dr. Haynes visited fifteen of the African territories south of the Sahara, and within the six months' period he had held conferences with individuals and groups of all races and in all branches of activity.

The book of 516 pages will serve as a handy reference and resource for those who seek general knowledge of the fifteen countries included, since no one volume of its size contains so much compact and well-organized information on various aspects of so large a section of the great continent.

Dr. Haynes bases his optimism regarding the potentialities of Africa, reflected in the title he has chosen, on the rich resources on which civilization has come

to depend, on the fast-developing market for Western manufactured goods, and on the versatility of the people.

Each chapter, after the first one, which gives a clear, over-all picture of some of the major achievements and problems of the whole area, deals with a separate country. Information given on each one includes brief basic factual material on the population, land, people, government, economic conditions, religious development, education, and suggestions for next steps to be taken by religious and social agencies.

—Mildred Roe

A Walker in the City, by Alfred Kazin. Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc. \$3.00.

This is a book by a young American who after twenty years recalls some walks he took as a boy. It is a delightfully revealing account of a brilliant young Jew, Alfred Kazin, born and brought up in eastern Brooklyn. The reader can readily see how hard we make it, we Christian Americans, for a boy to be raised in a strong Jewish tradition and not suffer.

In a way this country has been good to Alfred Kazin. He has had two Guggenheim Fellowships, taught in one of our leading state universities, and lectured at Columbia and Harvard. But he cannot forget "the sickening invocation of 'Americanism'—the word itself accusing us of everything we apparently were not."

What will interest many, if the readers are like this reviewer, is an account of the boy's reaction to the New Testament. It was a "little blue volume" handed him by a man who addressed him in Yiddish on the "Fifth Avenue steps of the Library." He read: "'And blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me.' Offended in him? I had known him instantly. Surely I had been waiting for him all my life—our own Yeshua. . . . It was he, I thought, who would resolve for me at last the ambiguity and the long ache

of being a Jew." The incident ends with a question every follower of Christ may well ponder: "Yeshua, my Yeshua! what had he to do with those who killed his own and worshipped him as God?"

—John C. White

Forward Through the Ages, by Basil Mathews. Friendship Press. Cloth, \$2.75; paper, \$1.50.

There is a modern sound to the words "the wisest and bravest hearts in the Christian church were gripped by a chill of dread as to which way the dreadful balance would tip." The particular period of peril, however, to which the author refers is not the present one, but that when Moslems "marched toward the heart of Europe." So, across the centuries, "time marches on."

Forward Through the Ages is a valuable contribution to the field of Church history in general, to the literature of Christian biography, to the history of missions, and to the excellent material stressing the need for, and the growth of, the ecumenical movement. In his preface the author quotes Dr. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago, as declaring that the only secure foundation for the harmonious oneness necessary to escape destruction in this atomic age is the *practical acceptance* of Jesus Christ's revelation of the Fatherhood of God. The 254 pages of the book chart the sweep onward toward this ideal of the "world-wide, interracial comradeship" which must underlie lasting social progress.

Well-chosen incidents illustrate why "to fight social evils in one's own land in the name of Christ is really to be both an overseas and a home missionary." There are helpful maps and illustrations by Louise Drew, whose work makes the text stand against a proper background of time and space. No clues to the nature or location of these graphic aids seem to be included in the otherwise excellent index.

—Esther T. Slosser

India Afire, by Clare and Harris Wofford. John Day Co., Inc. \$4.00.

A young American couple on a free-lance fellowship from the Foundation for World Government traveled through India, "self-assigned to study Indian economics and the influence of Mahatma Gandhi." The fourfold division of their book helps to explain its course:

"Gateway" is a study of life in Bombay and Bihar and a discovery of the continuing influence of Gandhi; "Village Revolution" is a contrast between the revolutionary forces at work in Kashmir, Hyderabad, and in the Gandhian settlement of Sevagram; "Hamlet and the Ghost" is primarily a study of Nehru, the analogy with Hamlet being used to explain the inconsistencies apparent in this great but puzzling personality; "Westward" is devoted primarily to conclusions, which, however, are difficult to grasp unless one has followed the thought pilgrimage of the authors in the preceding 276 pages.

To summarize these conclusions, the authors see the explosive idea of equality at work everywhere in the world today "but almost nowhere are democrats putting it to good use." "Our Indian experience has convinced us that peace is not the key problem to this period of history; agrarian justice, social equality, and world economic development are the signposts of the next half century."

In the continuing influence of Gandhi, especially in the program of the Socialist Party of India, do they find their rays of hope. Gandhi's message has relevance to the whole world, for nowhere else is there a better available teacher for democrats than Gandhi. Western economic aid is essential, but more than that, "prayerful action" on the part of like-minded persons all over the world.

This book is a reading necessity for those who would be well informed concerning present-day India.

—Willis Church Lamott

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Recommended Program Material

The summer months, with their fewer meetings, provide good opportunity for "extra" reading in preparation for fall programs. A new list of books and pamphlets in the field of social education and action has been compiled. A copy may be secured from the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Know Your Candidate

Early this summer two new leaflets will be available to help social education and action chairmen and secretaries in stressing Christian citizenship responsibilities in this election year:

The Voting Record of the 82d Congress will list how our Senators and Congressmen voted on sixteen crucial issues of concern to Presbyterians.

What Can Christians Do in 1952?, prepared in co-operation with other Protestant denominations, describes ways to stimulate interest in citizenship in local churches and presents some major social issues of domestic and foreign policy which will be decided by the fall election. Order both pamphlets from the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. 10 cents each. Greatly reduced quantity rates.

Freedom of Conscience

FREEDOM of conscience, of inquiry, and of expression is being challenged and curtailed by a blinding fear of subversive forces.

Good reputations are sometimes undermined by methods of public investigation that cast suspicion without the protection of a court trial. Men are declared unfit for positions of public trust on the basis of unsubstantiated charges that they are "bad risks" or because they have become "controversial personalities." The concept of "guilt by association" is flagrantly used to charge disloyalty in the face of the long-established American doctrine that guilt before the law is personal and cannot be imputed on the basis of relationship or association. Loyalty oaths in many cases have become forms of thought control and have failed to recognize the full implications of false witness in dealing with vital national issues and with the loyalties of men and women in public life. Passports are sometimes denied with no reason given and no hearing granted.

The right to fair and equal treatment by due process of law is too frequently flouted by illegal detention of suspected persons, police brutalities, and other injustices perpetrated on members of minority groups in the custody of the courts.

We should recognize the seriousness of these denials of human rights which help to tear down the whole structure of freedom and equality in America. The unmistakable trend toward authoritarianism and thought control can be halted only by the study and action of a great body of people committed to the cause of freedom under God.

—164th General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.